

The more things change, the more they stay the same:
Representations of whiteness in Australian history narratives
1950-2010

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Declaration of Originality

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Abstract

This thesis examines representations of whiteness and otherness in Australian secondary school social science textbooks from 1950-2010. Using textbooks as records of dominant narratives, I identify continuities and changes to the visibility and substantive nature of whiteness and otherness over this period. In particular, I analyse the discursive shifts which facilitated the transition in whiteness from a symbol of overt superiority to one of normality, characterised by 'unknowing'.

Utilising a theoretical framework comprising critical whiteness studies and ignorance theory, I employ content and critical discourse analysis to investigate how dominant discourses produce and maintain categories of belonging and exclusion. I focus on the role of ignorance in the perpetuation of these categories despite substantial legislative and social change during the research period, signified by the transition from the White Australia era to multiculturalism.

Textbooks reflect the shift in the broader polity over the research period: White dominance persists by becoming unmarked. Although representations of whiteness and otherness in textbooks become less visible, the constructs themselves endure. Similarly, Whites' position at the centre of the nation and non-Whites' at the margins persists despite changes to the substantive nature of these constructs: less overt assertions of White superiority and constructions of others as different rather than deficient. Even the increased representation of non-Whites fails to unsettle this dynamic; by siloing this content, dominant whiteness is not disrupted.

Continuities despite apparent change are enabled by White ignorance. The absence of overt assertions of White superiority and non-White deficiency in the multicultural era maintains White racial dominance while engendering White ignorance by rendering constructions of whiteness and otherness less explicit. In conjunction with the reduced visibility of these constructs, these less overt formulations shield the racialised nature of the polity from critique, ensuring that White ignorance is reproduced rather than interrupted. These discursive strategies (re)construct Australianness as White, irrespective of the racial diversity of the contemporary Australian population.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis contributes to research which explicates the intractability of ongoing racial inequality in Australia. In particular, Aborigines are 'firmly wedged at the bottom of Australian society' as evident by a number of socio-economic indicators, such as life expectancy, education, employment and income (Walter 2009, 2). Despite substantial and, arguably, well-intentioned legislative and social change to the polity from the 1960s onwards, this inequality persists (Pearson 2006). The endurance of inequality in the absence of overt discrimination is posited by critical whiteness studies to be due to the repetition of patterned behaviours often without intentional malice (Gillborn 2005, 490). In this thesis I examine discursive forms of these patterned behaviours and their indemnity from interrogation by their normalisation and institutionalisation. My aim is to render these discursive processes visible and therefore open to interrogation.

Prior to the 1960s, the White Australia Policy explicitly positioned Australia as a White nation. Although multiculturalism was adopted in the late 1970s, the nation continues to be imagined predominantly as a White space from which Aborigines and those of non-White immigrant heritage are excluded (Elder, Ellis & Pratt 2004, 208; Hage 1998, 18). I examine the extent to which discursive shifts in the multicultural era challenge or sustain this conception of the White nation in which Whites are positioned at the centre while non-Whites are consigned to the periphery. My research foci are representations of whiteness and otherness in narratives of Australian history. I employ Ansley's (1997, 592) definition of whiteness:

... a political, economic and cultural system in which Whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of White dominance and non-White subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad range of institutions and social settings.

Otherness refers to a residual category of 'non-whiteness' comprising those who are positioned outside the dominant imagining of Australianness: Aborigines and those of non-White immigrant heritage. My focus on discursive positioning as distinct from non-Whites' legal status or self-understanding (Hage 1998, 19; Vass 2016, 372) reflects my research focus on whiteness, in particular the reproduction of relations of dominance and subordination whiteness engenders.

The medium used to undertake the analysis is secondary school¹ social science textbooks published over the period 1950-2010. As 'consensus documents' (Provenzo, Shaver & Bello 2011, 1), textbooks provide a unique window into a society's authoritative and legitimate knowledge (Silverman 1992, 209). The 'intended clarity and moral certainty' of the authorial textbook voice invests textbooks with an aura of authority that is difficult to challenge (Pescosolido, Grauerholz & Milkie 1997, 444). Due to their status, textbooks not only record the dominant narratives for the period in which they are produced, but also function to attribute dominance to the narratives they disseminate. Consequently, where competing narratives exist, elevating particular narratives to the status of textbook knowledge can be fraught. This dynamic is evident in the field of Australian history. The production of an initial wave of revisionist histories in the 1970s disrupted the historical consensus of earlier twentieth-century triumphalist histories. Disputes arose as new narratives espoused by these histories, some of which disrupt staunchly triumphalist histories, achieved the status of textbook knowledge. Escalating in the 1990s, this debate became known as the 'History Wars' (elaborated in Chapter Two). My research sits within this contested terrain.

My research is a longitudinal study which investigates performances of whiteness in textbooks from both the White Australia and multicultural eras. This period covers the transition of whiteness from an overt symbol of superiority to one of normality. I analyse changes to the intentional and inadvertent reproduction of ideas of White superiority and entitlement in textbook narratives of Australian history over this period. I employ agnotology (ignorance theory) to extend Ansley's definition of whiteness to highlight the 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Mills 1997, 18) central to performances of whiteness. The relevance of agnotology to my research is its ability to elucidate unmarked aspects of whiteness. To this end, my research investigates how the whiteness of constructions of Australianness in social science textbooks changes over time, relative to constructions of otherness and with a particular focus on the role of ignorance in these constructions.

In this chapter I position my analysis within the shifting socio-political context of the post-World War II period, focusing on topics germane to my research. I trace the shift from White Australia to multiculturalism in the domains of non-White immigration, political changes to and public perceptions of Aboriginal policy and

¹ Secondary school in Australia refers to four post-primary compulsory years for students aged approximately 13-16 years.

trends in social education. Following this, I consider the problematic nature of many of the terms I use. In Chapter Two I review my theoretical framework and outline changing narratives of Australian history culminating in the History Wars. Chapter Three explains my methodology and my positionality as a White researcher. The subsequent four chapters present the results of my analysis, after which I discuss my conclusions.

Immigration, Aboriginality & social education: Socio-political change in Australia 1950-2010

1950s

When the Australian nation was formally instituted at Federation in 1901, it was imagined as White (Soutphommasane 2009, 131; Stratton 1999). This fantasy (Hage 1998) was enabled by the popular conviction that Aborigines were a 'doomed race' (Broome 2010, 210) and immigration policy which barred entry to non-Whites. Indeed, the Immigration Restriction Act, commonly known as the White Australia Policy, was the first substantial piece of legislation passed by the newly federated nation in 1901 (Aveling 2004, 60; Fitzgerald 2007, 2; Jupp 2007, 9; Tavan 2005, 7). However, Nazi Germany's racially-motivated genocide during World War II rendered doctrines endorsing overt racial discrimination untenable (Ang 1999, 195; Kinnane 2008, 280; Markus 1996, 96). In the post-World War II period, biological theories of race were rejected (Sundquist 2008, 252) which undermined eugenicist and social Darwinist thinking (White 1981, 157). Consequently, the White Australia Policy was gradually modified, until it was finally rescinded in 1973 (Dutton 2002; Tavan 2005).

The initial modification to the White Australia Policy, in the immediate post-war period, was to allow immigration from southern and eastern Europe (Jupp 2007, 13; MacCallum 2002, 13; Stratton 1999, 163). Nevertheless, until the shift to multiculturalism in the 1970s, immigration remained based on an assimilationist model which explicitly sought to maintain White racial and cultural homogeneity (Dutton 2002; Jayasuriya 1998). As demonstrated by this assimilatory immigration model and the continued exclusion of non-Europeans (non-Whites), the initial modification to the policy did not reflect a rejection of the concept of White Australia. Rather, it was a pragmatic decision that sought to protect White Australia from the perceived 'Yellow Peril' by increasing the population in the absence of sufficient numbers of British immigrants (Ang 1999, 195). The attempted Japanese invasion of northern Australia during World War II had exacerbated long-held fears of an Asian

invasion resulting in popular and political conviction in the obligation to 'populate or perish' (Jupp 2007, 11; Tavan 2005). Immigrants were also wanted to fulfil the demand for labour as post-war affluence led to economic expansion (White 1981, 159).

Although initial modifications to immigration policy fortified rather than disrupted the idea of a White Australia, these reforms were nevertheless deployed to bolster Australia's international reputation. Having ratified the 1945 United Nations Charter which outlawed racial discrimination, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Australian officials were mindful of international censure (Curthoys 2008, 245). For example, Hasluck's (1950 cited Broome 2010, 212) appeal to federal parliament to promote Aboriginal equality with all Australians was prompted by his perception that Australia's international standing was 'mocked by the thousands of degraded and depressed [Aboriginal] people who crouch on rubbish heaps throughout the whole of this continent'. In order to retain its League of Nations mandate for New Guinea, which was believed essential as a defence against Asian invasion, it was considered necessary for Australia to demonstrate appropriate treatment of 'native' peoples (Broome 2010, 203).

The 1950s witnessed a new era in Aboriginal policy with assimilation formally adopted by the Aborigines Protection Board in 1951. Whereas the previous 'protection' era had mandated that Aborigines be confined to reserves, the assimilation era sought to force Aborigines to adopt White mores. As noted by the Commonwealth-State conference of 1951 (cited Atkinson 2008, 320):

All Aborigines and part Aborigines are expected to eventually attain the same manner of living as other Australians ... enjoying the same responsibility, deserving the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians.

A key aspect of assimilatory policy was the removal of children of mixed descent from their families for the express purpose of 'the ultimate absorption into our race of the whole of the Australian native race' (Neville 1937 cited Jacobs 1990, 257). Under this policy, which Broome (2010, 200) labels genocidal, children were placed in missions or training institutions in order to be enculturated as White. These children have since become known collectively as the 'stolen generation'. Adults

were enculturated by the requirement to hold an exemption certificate in order to enjoy the 'same manner of living as other Australians', such as having a bank account, receiving Commonwealth social security payments, owning land or purchasing alcohol. Gaining an exemption certificate, named 'dog tags' by Aborigines, required severing connection to family and friends who were not yet exempt. Exempt families remained vulnerable to the removal of their children.

In the educational domain, the post-World War II period saw an international turn to social studies (Wong 1991) as a key component of an idealistic agenda to 'construct a better society out of the catastrophe from which mankind had just emerged' (Lawton & Dufour 1973, 5).² In light of perceived German complicity with the Nazi agenda, social education aimed to develop critical enquiry, investigate current problems and 'inculcate good citizenship' (Barcan 1971, 22). In particular, the teaching of social studies was deemed essential for the democratic functioning of society (Schoenheimer 1967). In this idealistic climate, social studies grew in popularity in the Anglosphere, often replacing history and geography. Following the lead of the US (Parry 2000), social studies was introduced as a secondary school subject in Australia – in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania in the 1940s and Queensland and Western Australia in the 1960s (Barcan 1971).

However, concurrent changes in the wider educational context led to social studies having a relatively low status as its introduction was associated with a relaxation in formal teaching methods and a lessening of the academic character of the curriculum. The democratic impulse which drove the introduction of social studies into the secondary school curriculum in the 1940s also encouraged education for all, resulting in reforms such as raising the minimum school leaving age from 14 to 15 years and the abolition of an external examination at the end of primary school. These changes increased high school enrolments, with much of that increase composed of students who previously would not have qualified for entrance. As examination pressure lessened and authoritarian discipline became less acceptable, traditional motivations for learning waned. Consequently, teaching methods changed as responsibility for learning shifted from students to teachers. In this environment, educators attempted to make courses more interesting, current and relevant (Barcan 1971, 18). Due to its contemporary and local focus as well as

² In the 1970s, second wave feminism problematised the ubiquitous use of masculine terms as generic. In a similar way, whiteness studies aims to disrupt the conflation between mankind, or humankind, and Whites (Dyer 1997).

inductive teaching style, social studies' presence in the curriculum was bolstered by these changes. Consequently, by 1950 social studies had come to be regarded in many Australian states as an 'interesting' and 'flexible' course, especially for the growing number of students deemed to be lower ability (Barcan 1971, 15, 20).

The introduction of social studies to the curriculum initiated an enduring tussle for ascendancy between this new integrative approach to social education and the traditional 'structure of the disciplines' approach in which history, geography and civics were taught as separate disciplines. These two approaches became associated with different educational philosophies: social studies was linked with the social reconstructionist or critical approach while the traditional curriculum was linked with the conservative cultural transmission approach, also known as academic rationalism (Kennedy 1994; 2005). The cultural transmission approach emphasises the transmission of declarative knowledge (Gilbert 2003), with received wisdom constituting what students are taught (Kennedy 2005, 12). Endorsed by scholars such as Bloom (1988), this approach focuses on 'great lives, on the progress of Western civilisation and on the consensus-making processes in society that admit neither of conflict nor disruption' (Kennedy 1994, 8). In contrast, advocates of critical approaches suggest exposing students to conflicting perspectives within disciplines (Popkewitz 1977, 57) to enable them to question existing knowledge and values in order to improve society (Henderson 2005, 308). Giroux (1980, 340), for example, argues that separating 'facts from values ... canonizes the very knowledge that it should be questioning'. The critical or inductive approach considers social issues to be subjective, complex and varied, rather than simply correct or incorrect (Henderson 2005) and therefore encourages students to think through issues themselves (Maya 1998).

The popularity of these different approaches and the subjects they represent has waxed and waned over the period of my research sample. Following the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957 the focus of (and funding for) education shifted from democracy and citizenship to mathematics, the natural sciences and formal teaching methods (Fenton 1967, 2). The apparent superiority of Soviet technology was seen as an indictment of the failure of progressive education to adequately serve the needs of an advanced technological society (Barcan 1971, 88). On the other hand, social studies benefitted from the new impetus to curriculum development instigated in reaction to the Cold War and Sputnik (Marsh 2004, 2; Parry 2000, 71).

1960s

There were no significant developments to Australian immigration policy in the 1960s. In contrast, this era witnessed increased Aboriginal visibility in the public domain and a corresponding increase in White awareness of Aboriginal issues. Drawing on international decolonisation and civil rights movements, Aboriginal activism, such as the Yolngu bark petition in 1963, the 'Freedom Rides' in 1965 and the Gurindji strike in 1966, helped remedy genuine White ignorance about racial discrimination and disadvantage. This milieu generated public debate, bringing these issues to national and international attention (Macintyre & Clark 2003, 43) and instigating legislation for equal wages, the right to vote in federal elections and access to Commonwealth social security payments (Flood 2006).

White perceptions of discrimination resulted in an overwhelming positive vote in the 1967 Referendum on whether Aborigines should be counted in the census and covered by federal laws. As Stanner (1979, 225) remarked in his 1968 Boyer lectures however, it is difficult to determine the sentiment behind support for constitutional change. On the one hand, the exceptionally high 'yes' vote was interpreted as popular goodwill towards Aborigines, endorsing inclusion and non-discrimination (Maddison 2011, 125-6; Standfield 2004). For example, Manne (2009a, 6) avers that the result signalled (White) Australians' belated development of a moral conscience. The campaign slogan which encouraged voters to 'write yes for Aborigines' also supports this interpretation. On the other hand, Stanner (1979, 225) observed that the referendum result and other reforms of the 1960s 'did not damage real interests or pockets'. The 'yes' vote promoted abstract equality – inclusion and non-discrimination – without cultivating support for any specific policies (Goot & Rowse 2007, 59). In particular, Goot and Rowse (2007, 25) argue that support for political inclusiveness did not extend to social inclusiveness. Broome (2010, 226) also recognises a chasm between Aboriginal civil rights and White community attitudes, arguing that the attitudes of White Australian adults in the 1960s were 'formed in the era when it was thought Aboriginal people were an unworthy, primitive and doomed race, and the butt of jokes of those who thought themselves civilised'. Indeed, Broome (2010, 225) suggests that community attitudes may have hardened, 'due to a backlash among some white Australians, who resented the Aboriginal elevation to equality'. Broome (2010, 222) also stresses the impact of national interest in constitutional change, noting the 'frenzied campaign which referred to Australia's need to protect its international reputation' in the light of being a signatory to the

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1965.

In the educational domain, the social upheaval of the 1960s led to a renewed focus on social studies. Civil rights and decolonisation movements, anti-war protests and the sexual revolution produced an 'insistent demand for schools to focus attention on values, civic education, minorities and societal problems such as the environment' (Fenton 1991, 85 cited Kennedy 1994, 10). In this context, the cultural transmission model seemed anachronistic, whereas critical enquiry was apposite. Social studies in Australia was further boosted following a UNESCO conference on teaching social sciences in Melbourne in 1967 (Marsh & Hart 2011, 7).

Reflecting the zeitgeist of the decade, Stanner's 1968 Boyer lectures disrupted the normative (White) historical perspective. In these lectures, Stanner (2009, 189) identified the almost complete absence of Aborigines from Australian histories, coining this 'the great Australian silence'. Stanner inspired a generation of historians, including Attwood (1992, 1996, 2005), Curthoys (1999, 2008), Markus (1996), Reynolds (1982, 1999, 2000, 2001), Rowley (1970), Ryan (1996, 2010) and Watson (1984) to rectify this failing.

1970s

The last vestiges of the White Australia Policy were finally rescinded in the early 1970s and in 1978 multicultural policy was introduced (Tavan 2005). The demise of the White Australia Policy enabled Australia to reinvent itself as culturally diverse. Nevertheless, Australian multiculturalism continued to privilege White culture and, by confining diversity to the cultural realm, remained racially exclusive (Stratton 1998, 13). During the 1970s there was a discursive shift whereby the terms ethnicity and culture began to be used as proxies for racial rhetoric (Gale 2004, 323; Stratton 1998, 33). Although repressed however, race continued to be 'a key element of Australian national understanding' (Stratton 1998, 33). Consequently, racialised inclusion and exclusion in the polity persisted, largely unchanged and unchallenged (Castles, Kalantzis, Cope & Morrissey 1988, 78). Notwithstanding the perpetuation of racialised inequality, eliminating racialised discourse enabled Whiteness to shift from a symbol of superiority to one of normality (Moses 2005, 50).

Nevertheless, as the White Australia Policy was gradually withdrawn, the nationality of immigrants to Australia changed considerably. The White Australia

Policy ensured that early twentieth century immigration to Australia from Asian countries was negligible. From 1968 to 1976 however, the number rose to 7000-9000 per annum. From 1976 when Indochinese refugees were admitted, immigrants from Asian countries increased to more than 20 000 per annum, a quarter of the total intake (Dutton 2002, 88).

The 1970s also heralded a new era in Aboriginal policy with the introduction of self-determination. Aborigines established a Tent Embassy in 1972, initially consisting of a single beach umbrella on the lawn in front of Parliament House. The Tent Embassy, which signalled Aboriginal sovereignty, 'severely embarrassed the government' (Flood 2006, 240). Arguably, pro-Aboriginal sentiment was indicated by the election of a Federal Labor government, after 22 years in opposition, on a platform emphasising human rights and Aboriginal self-determination (Flood 2006, 240). Legislative reforms, introduced by both major parties, included the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976). According to Flood (2006, 242) the late 1970s witnessed the peak of support for land rights.

The ascendancy of progressive, investigative approaches to learning in the 1970s initiated the controversy which continues to surround social education. In this decade the Curriculum Development Centre and, subsequently, the Social Education Materials Project (SEMP) were established. According to Gilbert (2003, 9), SEMP's 'innovative approach to materials development ... was stimulating, creative and forward looking'. Consequently, syllabus documents and curriculum statements in most states and territories from the 1970s onwards emphasised progressive, investigative approaches to learning rather than specific content (Kennedy 1994, 9). This emphasis signalled a further move away from the cultural transmission model, and initiated the first example of controversy associated with the social education curriculum. Gilbert (2003, 8) summarises the resistance to progressive approaches:

... to promote an open and questioning approach to our society's taken for granted assumptions, to allow for student conclusions or interpretations which were not predetermined, and to expand the curriculum beyond its traditional focus, was deemed to be unacceptably radical, or a conspiracy by some sectional interest.

Progressive approaches to social education were also boosted by the postmodern turn in which the received wisdom of cultural transmission models was framed as partial and contestable, rather than indisputable. In the field of Australian history,

the postmodern challenge to received wisdom enabled the production of revisionist histories.

1980s

The relatively unproblematic acceptance of the shift from the White Australia Policy to multiculturalism in the public domain was facilitated by an explicit agreement among the nation's political leaders that bipartisanship was imperative (Marr & Wilkinson 2003, 35; Tavan 2005, 229). In the 1980s however, this agreement was violated as senior members of the Liberal-National Coalition publicly supported Geoffrey Blainey's (1984) critique of multiculturalism and Asian immigration, resulting in 'much greater public unease about race and immigration issues' (Tavan 2005, 229). Regardless of his intent, Blainey's critique 'set the tone for all attacks on Asian migration and multiculturalism for the rest of the century' (Jupp 2007, 124). Since that time, both major political parties have demonstrated an 'increased willingness ... to politicise race and immigration issues' (Tavan 2005, 229). As a result, race and immigration have become key realms where public opinion in Australia is openly divided and disputed.

The 1980s also witnessed White backlash, both public and political, in the Aboriginal domain. In the public sphere, Whites voiced concern about land rights and putative overspending (Flood 2006, 242). Blainey was again implicated in the political sphere, with his critique of revisionist histories at the forefront of the conservative mobilisation against these histories (Tavan 2005, 227). Blainey (1984, 159) claimed 1970s revisionist histories depicted Australian history as a largely untrue 'story of exploitation, of racial violence, of oppressions and conflict'. Blainey's critique achieved notoriety as it was given powerful endorsement by business and political leaders. The bicentennial of White colonisation in 1988 highlighted the polarisation of these divergent positions on Australian history, with one section of the nation celebrating White colonisation and focusing on achievements since then and the other lamenting the invasion and the destruction it wrought for Aborigines. The year 1988 also marked the beginning of Torres Strait Islanders' pursuit for recognition as autonomous peoples, distinct from Aborigines (Broome 2010, 309). Following this, the term Indigenous was popularised as a composite term comprising Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.

The first steps in the development of a national curriculum were taken in the 1980s. Although the Australian Education Council's (1994) National Statements on SOSE

and other subjects were not composed until the following decade, events in the 1980s provided the groundwork for these later documents. In 1980 the Curriculum Development Centre, an early version of the Commonwealth Department of Education, released a paper calling for a core curriculum for all Australian schools (Brennan 2011, 260). In the domain of social education, the Social Education Association of Australia (SEAA) was established. The SEAA (1984, 1990) curriculum statements were 'important forerunners[s]' to the National Statement on SOSE (Gilbert 2003).

1990s

According to Tavan (2005, 231) the 'high-water mark' of Australia's commitment to Indigenous land rights, multiculturalism and relations with Asia were during Keating's Prime Ministership (1991-96). In contrast, the election of conservative Prime Minister Howard in 1996 led to a retreat in these domains (Broome 2010, 283; Jupp 2007, 52). Indeed, Howard's actions have been cast as a campaign to overturn the progressive, pluralist values that imbued Australian political culture from the 1970s to the early 1990s in favour of a return to core (White) values (MacIntyre & Clark 2003; Tavan 2005, 227). For example, Howard shifted the focus of multiculturalism from cultural pluralism with its emphasis on the rights of diverse groups to a citizenship model which stresses an 'overriding commitment' to Australia and to (White) Australian values (Castles 2001, 809; Tavan 2005, 221). The citizenship model, while not assimilationist, demanded acculturation, such as learning English. In contrast to the explicit dominance of whiteness in the White Australia era however, the re-ascendance of whiteness from the 1990s onwards was characterised by the eschewal of racial language.

The 1990s led to progress for Aboriginal rights followed by reversals. In 1992, the High Court handed down its historic Mabo judgement which ruled that native title was not extinguished by colonisation. The Mabo decision overturned the 'convenient assumption' (Buchan & Heath 2006, 7) of *terra nullius* (unowned land) which, up until that time, provided the legal justification for the dispossession of Aborigines by the British. The fear and outrage aroused by the Mabo decision were not quelled by the Keating government's Native Title Act (1993) which sought to clarify and limit its effects. Although the only land that could be claimed under the Native Title Act was vacant land for which a traditional and continuous link could be established, antagonistic parties including miners and conservative politicians manufactured fear of Aborigines claiming huge swathes of land, including suburban backyards (Breen

2008; Broome 2010, 285-6; Markus 1996, 89). Howard, then Leader of the Opposition, 'echoed the exaggeration that 70 per cent of Australia's lands were affected' (Broome 2010, 298). Keating, however, continued with his reparative agenda to extend justice to Aborigines (Broome 2010, 288, 294). Campaigning on a platform which opposed Keating's multicultural and pro-Aboriginal policies (MacCallum 2002, 38) and reassuring the public of 'buckets full of extinguishment', the Liberal-National Coalition successfully contested the 1996 federal election, with Howard becoming Prime Minister until 2007.

The 1996 federal election also resulted in the rise of Pauline Hanson and, a year later, her One Nation Party to prominence. The 'intolerance' and 'bigotry' (Gale 2004, 322) of Hansonism had a 'significant influence on the policies and politics of both major parties in Australia' (Gale 2004, 323). For example, just twelve days after Hanson's maiden speech in Federal Parliament in which she espoused anti-Asian, anti-Aboriginal and anti-multicultural sentiments, Howard welcomed the fact that 'the pall of censorship on certain issues has been lifted' (Cater 2015, 221). By expressing widely held conservative views, Hanson/One Nation also encouraged the public expression of these views (Jupp 2007, 134). Recognising Hanson's role in this regard, Mackay (2002) described Hanson as 'the loudspeaker who magnified those rumbles of discontent and disillusionment'.

The first national curriculum frameworks were produced in the racially-polarised milieu of the 1990s. Since their production, textbooks have been explicitly linked to these curricula. The national curriculum frameworks encompassed eight broad learning areas, including Studies of Society and Environment, or SOSE (Marsh 1994, ix). SOSE is the current manifestation of progressive – critical and inquiry-based – approaches to learning (Henderson 2005, 308). In the 1990s, every state and territory except New South Wales agreed to teach history through SOSE up to year 10 (Clark 2008, 5; Taylor 2012, 40). Nevertheless, SOSE is not necessarily the integrative subject its name suggests. SOSE textbooks, for example, are comprised of three distinct strands – history, geography and civics.

The decision to teach history through SOSE led to curriculum debates being focused on SOSE (see Bolt 2000; Donnelly 2004). As Gilbert (2003, 11) argues, conflicts over SOSE are reflective of 'more fundamental conflicts over the curriculum in general'. The conservative critique of SOSE advocates the cultural transmission approach to knowledge acquisition. From this perspective, critical inquiry, as emphasised by

SOSE, is considered to be detrimental to society (Gilbert 2003; Henderson 2005). According to conservatives, there is a single, correct view of history which is 'given rather than made, and needs to be defended from those who would tamper with it' (Macintyre & Clark 2003, 28). Proponents of this perspective argue for a return to 'traditional' narratives of Australian history (Henderson 2005). The election of the Howard Coalition government in 1996 exacerbated the politicisation of the curriculum (Macintyre & Clark 2003, 4-5; Manne 2009b) as Howard (1996) strongly advocated for a proud and benign version of Australian history, rejecting revisionist histories as 'little more than a disgraceful record of imperialism, exploitation and racism'. In opposition to this perspective, Howard cast Australian history as a story of 'heroic achievement'. The increased politicisation of Australian history is discussed further in a subsequent section on the History Wars (see page 28).

2000s

According to many political commentators, the politics of race was a decisive factor in the 2001 federal election (Bossnio 2008; Gale 2004; MacCallum 2002, 61; Macnab 2010; Marr & Wilkinson 2003, 175). Howard's refusal to allow the Norwegian freighter 'Tampa' to land in Australia after it rescued asylum seekers whose boat was sinking in open water north of Australia produced a crucial swing in electoral support (MacCallum 2002; Manne 2003a). The Tampa incident and the political response to it, including the complicity of Opposition Leader Beazley, redirected White Australians' fear of non-White immigrants to asylum seekers, specifically those that arrived by boat (Gale 2004; Koerner 2010). In this context, as Jupp (2007, 135) notes, One Nation's pre-occupation with Asians seemed antiquated. Race was also deployed (unsuccessfully) as a political strategy in the 2007 federal election, with Howard launching the Northern Territory Intervention into remote Aboriginal communities. The Intervention, continued by the subsequent Labor government, has been argued to signal a return to the paternalism of the 'protection' and assimilation eras (Altman & Hinkson 2007).

Teaching history through SOSE was finally abandoned in the 2000s. In response to conservative critiques that history education was compromised by SOSE, the discipline approach to history was reasserted (Clark 2008, 5, Fahey 2012, 1). With the exception of changing their titles to Humanities rather than SOSE, this decision has not produced any obvious change to curricula or textbooks.

Terms

Many of the terms I use are problematic. In this section I explain my choice of particular terms in preference to others. Central to my thesis is the division of people into the categories White and non-White. This arbitrary categorisation is fraught for multiple reasons. Primarily, the terms White and non-White reinscribe concepts I aim to disrupt. These terms centre whiteness, reinscribing whiteness as the standard against which non-Whites are measured and positioning non-White as a residual category defined by what it is not. Langton (2008a, xxvi) avoids this dilemma by differentiating between those of indigenous and immigrant heritage. Advantages of this nomenclature are its unsettling of 'settler' Australians, its privileging of indigenous heritage and its refusal to favour White over non-White immigrants. However Langton's terms do not match my analytical needs, in particular my need to distinguish between White and non-White immigrants. In contrast to Langton, my terms give precedence to race, disrupting the contemporary norm whereby race is purged from the public lexicon (Goldberg 2009, 341). This purging denies the impact of race on life chances, both beneficial and detrimental, thereby perpetuating the racialised status quo (Cabrera 2014, 31). In particular, racialising Whites facilitates analysis of White privilege. In the absence of racialisation, Whites tend to function as the human norm (Dyer 1997). This normativity is one of the main avenues by which whiteness retains its power. Consequently, naming whiteness, especially racialising the routinely un-raced White subject (McKay 1999, 3), is a central tenet of work in the field of whiteness studies.

I use the term White to refer to those who, irrespective of appearance or ancestry, 'willingly and unwillingly, knowingly and unknowingly' benefit from racialised social structures which position them as White (Kowal 2008, 341). Correspondingly, I use non-White to refer to those who are racialised by social structures as non-White. As these definitions indicate, categorisation is based on one's social location rather than appearance or ancestry. As with many other terms used in this thesis – whiteness, race, culture, ethnicity, Asian, nation – these terms are social constructions. Given my thesis' extensive use of social constructions, I choose not to signal their constructed nature through the use of quotation marks (Stratton 1998, 20).

A further problem with White/non-White terminology is that it reifies ideas of race and inherently different racial groups into which humanity can be unproblematically divided, eliding the subjectivity intrinsic to any attempt at

categorisation. This categorisation contradicts the scholarly consensus that there is no objective reality to racial categorisation. Race is fluid, morphing to accommodate changing social contexts and dominant group interests. As Perry (2002, 220) asserts,

Racial categorizations are inherently arbitrary and violent. They ... reduce the whole of a person's humanity to a singular fiction that has real consequences for one's status and life chances.

Racial diversity is far more complex than the dichotomy I use which artificially reduces highly complex conditions to a simplistic binary (Levine-Rasky 2013) and subsumes all non-White peoples into one category defined by lack, deficiency or deviance. Categorising people according to race also negates other axes of privilege and disadvantage such as class, gender, sexuality and ableness. Notwithstanding the limitations of White/non-White terminology however, this dichotomy is apposite for my analysis of the discrepancy between the positioning of these peoples in Australian histories. As Mills (1997, 80) argues, the White/non-White dichotomy 'really does capture the essential structure of the global racial polity'. Similarly, Sullivan (2006, 199) suggests that, while problematic, the term non-White fulfils the need for a term that 'broadly describes people who are disadvantaged by white privilege'. In contrast to the black/White binary, non-White is inclusive of peoples who are constructed as neither black nor white, such as Asians.

It is useful and relevant to my research to differentiate between the pre- and post-colonisation eras. However, these terms share many of the same problems as non-White. In particular, as shorthand for Aboriginal life, the term pre-colonisation uses a White frame of reference to describe a period where Whites were absent. It also implies that Aboriginal life only achieves significance through colonisation. On the other hand, these terms are apt for delineating the abrupt changes experienced by Aborigines following British colonisation/invasion (I eschew 'settlement' because it obscures the violence and appropriation that the terms colonisation and invasion invoke). In contrast to a specific date, the term pre-colonisation also has the advantage of being applicable to the extended period of time in which the colonial frontier spread over the continent. I also prefer pre-colonisation to traditional Aboriginal life because the latter tends to reinscribe notions of 'noble savages' living an homogenous, unchanging lifestyle, markedly distinct from contemporary Aboriginality. These notions position contemporary Aboriginality as inauthentic.

In a similar way to my use of White and non-White, the language I use to demonstrate and destabilise racialisation is complicit with it (Sullivan 2006, 199), in particular my use of racialised descriptors such as Aborigines and Chinese. I have struggled with this conundrum throughout my research. My analysis highlights and critiques the superfluous, divisive and deleterious effects of racialisation in my sample. While I have endeavoured to avoid these outcomes as far as possible, avoiding the use of racialised descriptors altogether was not feasible. At times it was necessary to use these descriptors to specify that my argument only applied to particular groups. Moreover, by racialising Whites, I avoided the White custom of only racialising non-Whites and leaving Whites as unraced or the human norm (McKay 1999, 3). My use of racialised descriptors also recognises that, in Australia, the lived experience of peoples racialised as non-White is markedly different to that of Whites (Hollinsworth 2016, 414; Moreton-Robinson 1998, 11; Walter 2010, 47). In these latter usages, racialisation is a refutation of the contemporary practice whereby Whites are reframed in non-raced terms such as 'people', 'Australians' or 'us', while racial terms such as Asian or Aboriginal continue to be applied to non-Whites. This rhetorical manoeuvre constitutes Whites as universal subjects, with White group interests concealed. Conversely, non-Whites are positioned as raced subjects whose actions represent racial group interests (Dyer 1997, 4; Riggs & Augoustinos 2007). Whereas Whites can claim to represent the national interest, non-Whites are constructed as representing divisive sectional interests. Consequently, perpetuating White economic, social, political and cultural dominance is positioned as synonymous with the national interest. In contrast, racially inclusive and/or equitable policies and practices are seen as inequitable and 'un-Australian'. Indeed, policies determined on the basis of race are framed as racist.

I use the term Aborigine, rather than Indigenous, the currently preferred term. Although Indigenous is now used widely in Australia, for most of the period of my sample the term Aborigine was used instead; in this context, the term Aborigines includes Torres Strait Islanders. Historically, Aborigine has pejorative connotations, especially without an initial capitalisation (Broome 2010, 4). In contrast to Indigenous however, it has been reclaimed as a term of self-identification by contemporary Aborigines (Hollinsworth 2016, 427). Nevertheless, the term Aborigine remains contested as a relic of colonial domination which, arguably, continues into the present. Its use can also reinscribe constructions of pan-Aboriginality, obscuring the distinct cultural-linguistic groups encompassed by the term (Smith 1999, 6). In order to minimise reiterating pan-Aboriginality, I considered

substituting textbooks' use of a/Aborigine with the relevant linguistic group/s. With the exception of the palawa³ of Tasmania and the Eora of Sydney however, the cultural-linguistic group referred to in many incidents in textbooks was often unclear. Consequently, apart from these exceptions, I reproduced the terms used in the textbooks, thereby reinscribing pan-Aboriginality.

I considered similar issues in the use of place names. To write that Cook landed at Botany Bay in April 1770 is to erase the Gameygal, Gweagal and C/Gadigal language groups (Langton 2008b) whose ancestral lands were renamed thus. This renaming negates Aboriginal sovereignty, positioning the land as *terra nullius*, available for White possession. On the other hand, replacing White names with the original Aboriginal names is arduous, susceptible to error and potentially impedes communication. White place names are widely known and understood; no explanation is necessary. In contrast, Aboriginal place names, where known, do not necessarily correspond with White place names. The land surrounding Botany Bay, for example, is known by two names: the north head is Bunnabi or Bunnabri and the south head Kurdel, with the boundary between the two loosely defined (Australian Museum 2009). For these reasons I reproduce White place names. A similar conundrum arises in reference to the Australian landmass. I am only aware of White names, such as Terra Australis Incognita, New South Wales or Australia. These names, the only ones available to me, erase Aborigines and negate Aboriginal sovereignty. In the same way as many other terms I use, I am left to choose the most suitable from a range of unsatisfactory options. I settled on using 'Australia' whether this term is historically accurate for the time period I refer to or not. Similarly, I use 'Tasmania' rather than 'Van Diemen's Land', whether or not the term is historically accurate. Using multiple, temporally correct terms does not enhance my analysis and I therefore consider it an unnecessary complication.

Finally, I avoid introducing the terms racism and/or racist. These terms produce defensive reactions from Whites which impede communication (Hollinsworth 2014, 3; Nicoll 2004). More importantly, determining the presence or absence of racist intent frames racism as individual and intentional rather than systemic. In contrast, my research focuses on the often unintentional perpetuation of racial inequality via the reproduction of patterned behaviours rather than individual 'innocence' or 'guilt' (Castagno 2013, 112; Feenan 2007, 526; Maher & Tetreault 1998, 156; Vass 2016, 372).

³ palawa kani does not use capitals

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

For Gramsci (1971, 324) the 'starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is ... as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory'. For this project the consciousness of critical elaboration entails examining the role of the education system in the discursive reproduction of White ignorance. Critical whiteness studies (Aveling 2004; Castagno 2013; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1993; Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007; Moreton-Robinson 1998, 2003, 2004) and ignorance theory, or agnotology, (Mills 1997; Proctor 2008; Steyn 2012) are deployed to investigate how texts function to produce and maintain the 'unknowing' characteristic of whiteness which enables the nation to be imagined as predominantly White regardless of demographic diversity. In this chapter, I explicate my theoretical framework and outline changing accounts of post-World War II Australian history, culminating in the History Wars.

Discourse & race

I employ a post-structural understanding of discourse as 'constitutive and constructive rather than reflective and representative' (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 13). From this perspective, language is not a neutral medium but an ideologically-loaded performative activity which creates 'truth' (Jacobs 2013, 272). By framing topics in a particular way, the 'truth' created through discourse constructs the reality it appears to merely describe (Foucault 1972, 49). The extent to which discourse 'constitutes the world' is contested (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 18-20). I employ a Foucauldian perspective in which all social practices are considered to have a discursive aspect to the extent that they all entail meaning (Hall 1992, 291).

While there is an ontological level of existence regardless of meaning attribution, discourses construct the 'truth' assigned to the physical dimension and constitute the social world (Attwood 1992, i; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 9). Discourses, therefore, are not 'mere talk and text' (van Dijk 1993, 95) but have tangible effects. Discourses are not fully determining however, but are limited by the frameworks of the social world. Historically established norms determine what can meaningfully be said, resulting in a tendency for specific domains to produce repetitive and predictable statements (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 13). Thus, the relationship between discourse and the social world is dialectical. Moreover, as certain meanings are constructed through discourse, alternative meanings are necessarily precluded (Foucault 1990,

27). Due to both its productive and restrictive elements, discourse is inexorably linked with power, with power implicated in everything that is deemed 'truth' (Allen 2003, 22).

Foucault (1980) named the present mode of power in capitalist societies as 'disciplinary power' in which regulation takes the form of discursive practices that produce and maintain norms. Discourses organise practices into structures of domination – technologies of power – while also legitimising the patterns of domination inherent in those practices. In this way, discourses and practice reinforce each other to form 'regimes of truth' (Foucault 1980a, 131). Key to this power is its normalisation whereby the power itself is masked. In this thesis, I extend Foucault's (1980b, 105) concept of discipline to include race which, as a discursive discipline, attaches meanings to arbitrary, fluid elements of 'morphology or ancestry' (Haney-López 2006, 10).

As a discursive discipline, race is 'not ontologically prior to its production and instantiation in discourses' (Carbado 2002, 181). Visible differences between peoples, such as skin colour, have existed for millennia. However, the attribution of these differences to race with its attendant meanings is relatively recent. Although the finer points of the evolution of racial discourse are contested, there is a general consensus locating its instigation in Enlightenment Europe (Du Bois 1970, 314; Goldberg 1993, 82; Painter 2010; Spencer 2014, 43). During the imperial era from the late seventeenth century, Whites justified colonisation and slavery by framing non-Whites as inferior and subhuman (Stratton 1999). Pseudo-scientific discourses formalised race into systems of classification and 'regimes of truth' (Smith 1999, 32). The meanings attributed to race today result from the reproduction and modification of these discourses. The socially constructed nature of race is supported by the current scientific consensus which contests the reality of race in a biological or genetic sense (Sundquist 2008). Nevertheless, race appears real through its instantiation in discourse; racial discourse produces the very bodies that it classifies and describes (Ehlers 2008, 335). Moreover, the discursive reproduction of race renders it real as a lived experience (Carbado 2002, 181; Frankenberg 1993, 128; Riggs & Augoustinos 2005, 462). There are consistent, predictable, racialised differences on a range of socio-economic indicators – health, life expectancy, education, employment, income, wealth and interaction with the criminal justice system – with White Australians consistently advantaged in comparison to non-Whites (Moreton-Robinson 1998, 11; Walter 2010, 47). Race is a social reality.

The discursive reproduction of race is obscured because the ideological assumptions underlying normative social practices are invisible to those enculturated in them (Fairclough 1995, 54). Through discursive repetition, race is reified. This enables race to appear as self-evident; a 'natural' feature whose existence is independent of cultural ascriptions of meaning. For example, Yancy (2004a, 109) states that whiteness appears 'natural' by 'ontologi[sing] its mythologies'. By masking its own construction, whiteness represents itself as 'universal, decontextual, and ahistorical' (Yancy 2004a, 109-110). Whether accompanied by overt White supremacy or race-neutrality, the unmarked and unnamed discursive practices of whiteness maintain their power by a refusal to identify and examine their construction. In this project, I investigate both overt and normalised whiteness, with a particular focus on the strategies which protect whiteness from examination.

Conceptualising whiteness

The 'unknowing' inherent to whiteness makes it difficult to delineate (Brayboy, Castagno & Maughan 2007, 176; Schlunke 1999). Frankenberg (1993, 6), one of the early scholars in the recent revival of critical whiteness studies, states that whiteness is not a transhistorical essence, but 'a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced'. As a historical, social, political and cultural construction (hereafter social construction), whiteness is inherently fluid, shifting according to its social context not only to accommodate different locations at one point in time, but also the same locations over time (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007). Moreover, whiteness is relational, its form varying in accordance with the groups it is constructed in opposition to (Aveling 2004, 59; Byrne 2006, 26; Moreton-Robinson 1998). The fluidity of whiteness betrays its fabricated ontological status and presupposes that uniform conceptualisation is oxymoronic. Rather, conceptions of whiteness are 'situationally specific' (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 393). For the purposes of this thesis, I focus on post-World War II manifestations of whiteness in Australia, where it is constituted in opposition to various non-Whites, in particular Aborigines and non-White immigrants.

Current manifestations of whiteness are particularly problematic to conceptualise. In the contemporary 'post-racial' era, race has been erased from the public lexicon (Aveling 2004, 62; Goldberg 2009, 341), with racial concepts expressed obliquely via proxies. These proxies range from ones with vague allusions to race such as ethnicity, culture, nationalism (Bonilla-Silva 2002; Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 397; Jayasuriya 1998; Stratton 1999) to terms which target racialised groups but

nevertheless eschew racial language, such as 'illegals', 'queue jumpers' and 'border patrol' (Aveling 2004, 62). The simultaneous ascendancy and obliteration of race (Goldberg 1993) produces an environment whereby racial inequality is reproduced through the denial that race is a 'pertinent social issue' (Cabrera 2014, 31). The discursive practices of whiteness centre White ways of being, knowing and doing while masking whiteness through constructing these beliefs, policies and practices as race-neutral – normal and universal. This functions to transform whiteness into a vacant social category – universal yet imperceptible (Green & Sonn 2005, 480). In addition to structuring the Anglosphere while remaining unmarked and unnamed, whiteness racialises its others (Dyer 1997; Larbalestier 1999, 153) while claiming to be race-neutral and individualistic, and privileges or disadvantages while claiming to be meritocratic.

Conceptualisations of whiteness are hampered not only by its contrary nature, but also by the multiple aspects of which it is comprised. Frankenberg (1993, 1) identifies three interrelated dimensions of whiteness: 'a location of structural advantage ... a standpoint ... [and] a set of structural practices'. Similarly, Ansley (1997, 592) outlines structures, ideology and practices in her definition of whiteness as,

... a political, economic and cultural system in which Whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of White dominance and non-White subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings.

Other authors affirm the multiplicity of whiteness, framing its component parts in different terms yet with some crossover: as an identity, ideology and institution (Brayboy *et al.* 2007, 176), as identity, ideology and social positioning (Steyn & Conway 2010, 283), or as skin colour, lived experience and ideology (Dlamini 2002, 58). Dlamini explicitly links ideology and structural practice by incorporating beliefs, policies and practices into her conceptualisation of ideology. While all three aspects of whiteness are interrelated and all three are relevant to my research, for the purposes of analysis I focus on the structural practices of whiteness, in particular Ansley's conceptualisation of whiteness as a cultural system linked to the reproduction of conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement. To this end, I conceptualise whiteness as a discursive power/knowledge regime.

My conceptualisation of whiteness as a discursive regime focuses on whiteness as a performance rather than 'an attribute of identity adhering to a white body' (Levine-Rasky 2000, 287). Whites and non-Whites have relative access to whiteness according to how closely their performance of whiteness matches the dominant manifestation of whiteness in a particular context. For example, Mills (1997, 18) states that access to whiteness requires affirmation of the 'correct, objective interpretation of the world'. Similarly, Hage (1998, 53) contends that non-White immigrants in Australia can acquire whiteness by cultivating a particular 'linguistic, physical and cultural disposition' characteristic of 'Anglo-ness'. Tertiary educational qualifications and professional employment are particularly potent means of acquiring whiteness (Lobo 2014, 722). Nevertheless, people with pale skin are positioned as naturally endowed with whiteness, which those who are visibly non-White must work harder to accrue (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 403).

While some aspects of the cultural capital necessary for performances of whiteness can be acquired or adopted, allowing actors to 'pass' as White, visible non-Whiteness militates against this (Lobo 2014, 722). This is particularly important in the Australian context in which whiteness is more closely linked with appearance than other countries (Stratton 1999, 177). For example, in the United States the 'one drop rule' constitutes blackness according to ancestry regardless of appearance. In contrast, in Australia the emphasis is on visible whiteness as illustrated by the assimilation-era attempt to integrate Aborigines via 'breeding out the colour' (McGregor 2002; Spencer 2014, 3). Moreover, whiteness is not 'infinitely fluid'. As Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, 395) note, White Australians are unlikely to ever consider Aborigines to be White.

In addition to pale skin, whiteness is also positioned as naturally associated with Christianity (Stratton 1999, 165; Sunderland 2007) and English-speaking Westerners (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 395). These associations are permeable, as demonstrated by the broadening of whiteness to accept Jews (Brodkin 1998), Irish (Stratton 2004) and people of 'much darker skin pigmentation than was previously considered acceptable' into Australia in the post-Second World War period (Stratton 1999, 164). Nevertheless, non-White, non-Christian, non-English speaking people's access to whiteness is tentative rather than secure (Dyer 1997, 12). Access to the cultural capital of whiteness is also dependent on one's positioning on additional axes of social privilege/disadvantage, such as class, gender and sexuality. However, it is important to note that these additional factors inflect and modify race privilege

rather than erasing it (Frankenberg 2001, 76). Consequently, Whites in Australia occupy positions of relative privilege vis-à-vis non-Whites (Hollinsworth 2016; Moreton-Robinson 1998, 11; Walter 2010, 47).

The normativity of contemporary whiteness underlies its uninterrogated status (Fairclough 1995, 54). In fields such as education, whiteness operates as an 'unacknowledged and unquestioned norm' (Freie 2014, 14) in which White epistemological, economic, political, and cultural representations hold 'unquestioned universal sovereignty', thereby negating and silencing non-White perspectives (Banerjee & Tedmanson 2010, 148). Whereas non-Whites are seen to speak from a position of particularity, the White standpoint is positioned as objective, rational and value-neutral (Dyer 1997, 4; Riggs & Augoustinos 2007). As an epistemic principle whiteness is a 'precondition of knowledge, belonging, authority, rationality, moral rightness and so on' (Hook & Howarth 2005, 507). Moreover, the values, norms and epistemic frames of reference which whiteness creates 'unilaterally affirm' its various modes of instantiation (Yancy 2004a, 108). For example, whiteness avoids critique by the establishment and enforcement of technologies of power whereby raising issues which threaten whiteness is taboo. The particular 'pedagogies of politeness' (Leonardo 2009, 179) which are normative in White societies are those that allow Whites to avoid talking openly about potentially conflict-laden topics (Hartigan 2001, 161), thereby avoiding the dialogue necessary for social change (Castagno 2013, 113). A 'culture of niceness' (Hollinsworth 2016, 23) which avers difficult issues is therefore central to whiteness. Ironically, the 'culture of niceness' may be vehemently enforced if disturbed. This avoidance of potential conflict functions to maintain the status quo, a 'primary means of protecting whiteness' (Castagno 2013, 110). By constraining racial discussions, the 'culture of niceness' is also crucial to the cultivation of White ignorance.

White ignorance

For Mills (1997, 19), avoidance or ignorance of racial knowledge is the defining feature of whiteness, which he conceptualises as the systemic production of 'misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion and self-deception on matters related to race'. These cognitive dysfunctions produce 'epistemologies of ignorance' which are 'psychologically and socially functional', constituting an inability to recognise the racialised nature of the polity (Mills 1997, 18). The fundamental relationship between ignorance and whiteness is also asserted by Steyn (2012, 11), who describes whiteness as 'a structurally privileged positionality (un)informed by ignorance'.

Ignorance theory, or agnotology, is a relatively new field in which the conventional focus of epistemology on knowledge is extended to investigate the construction and maintenance of ignorance as a way of knowing (McHugh 2005). Ignorance theorists contest the idea of ignorance as a 'steadily retreating frontier' of the 'not yet known' in the face of expanding knowledge (Proctor 2008, 3). Rather than a void, ignorance is theorised to be replete with content. Ignorance may be classified into three types: a pre-knowledge state, a 'lost realm' of selective choice and inattention and a strategic ploy which is deliberately engineered, maintained and manipulated (Proctor 2008, 3). As suggested by these types, ignorance may be genuine, wilful or tacit/structural (Swan 2010, 479). Whereas genuine ignorance reflects an absence or void of knowledge, the remaining types intimate content. Ignorance, then, is not simply the apolitical absence of knowledge (Proctor 2008). As Steyn (2012, 10) asserts the relationship between knowledge and ignorance is not one of presence and absence, but of 'two types of presences, both of which are the product of deliberate practices'. As a 'productive asset' (McGoey 2012, 553) or a 'social achievement with strategic value' (Steyn 2012, 8), ignorance may be deliberately cultivated rather than resisted. For example, the epistemologies of ignorance central to whiteness function as 'a form of social amnesia' which allow Whites to ignore their/our implication in systems of privilege and disadvantage (Castagno 2013, 102; see also Leonardo 2009; Schick 2014). This enables these systems and their accompanying outcomes to be maintained while simultaneously positioning Whites as innocent of complicity in the systemic maintenance of these systems (Moore & Bell 2011; Steyn & Foster 2008; Sullivan 2006, 18-19). As such, White ignorance functions as a technology of power which protects whiteness from examination while maintaining racial privilege and disadvantage.

While White ignorance has been present since the British invasion and colonisation of Australia, prior to the multicultural era White racial identity and supremacy were openly declared. Since the shift from overt supremacy however, White racial identity has been rendered 'invisible' to Whites while White racial dominance has been rebranded as meritocratic. These changes have necessitated new epistemologies of ignorance to be manufactured and normalised, in particular ignorance of the racialised nature of the polity. White ignorance enables the current era to be nominally 'post-colonial' while the global economy continues to be dominated by former colonial powers and the economic structures which 'pump wealth from one side of the globe to another' continue to operate (Mills 1997, 36). As Cowlshaw (1999, 303) notes, there is nothing 'post' about colonisation in Australia (see also Moreton-

Robinson 2003, 38). Similarly, Day (2005, 8) notes that post-colonialism is unlikely to be a meaningful concept to Aborigines. Epistemologies of ignorance not only obscure global White domination, but also mask the privileged position of Whites within these states relative to non-Whites (Green & Sonn 2006, 381; Mills 1997, 37). Although race is central to this dominance and privilege, it is rendered invisible via an epistemology, or interpretive lens, in which White racial dominance is either not thought about (Durey & Thompson 2012; Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 396) or else not thought about as the outcome of historical oppression but as just 'the way things are' (Mills 1997, 30).

Contesting the 'naturalness' of White dominance, Mills (1997) asserts that White-dominated societies are structured to differentially privilege Whites, and that this supremacy is predicated on a racial contract between Whites. According to Mills (1997, 3), standard conceptualisations of the social contract are 'profoundly misleading' in order to obscure 'the ugly realities of group power and domination'. This gap in classic contractarianism is remedied via Mills' (1997, 11, 72) explication of the racial contract which 'restricts and modifies' the social contract with the intent of privileging Whites as a group at the expense of non-Whites. The racial contract designates some people as White and others as non-White. Whereas Whites are 'coextensive with the class of full persons', non-Whites are 'of inferior moral status' (Mills 1997, 11). The racial contract also prescribes norms which qualify White behaviour when dealing with non-Whites. Consequently, many of the norms that Whites observe when dealing with each other are suspended or modified when dealing with non-Whites. For example, Goot and Rowse (2007, 25) highlight the social exclusiveness of White Australians in which Aborigines are kept 'at arm's length'. Similarly, Cowlishaw (1999, 46) observes how, with reference to Aborigines, Whites fail to observe the standard etiquette of not speaking about someone in their presence. At an institutional level, the suspension and modification of norms is apparent in the criminal justice systems' excessive levels of interaction with Aborigines (Kessar 2006, 356; Seagrave 2015).

In contrast to the social contract, the racial contract is '*continually being rewritten*' (Mills 1997, 72 emphasis in original) in response to wider societal shifts in the conceptualisation of race. This modification is evident in the changing performances of race in the White Australia era and the multicultural era. Indeed, in the latter era, White domination is 'conceptually invisible' due to the success of the racial contract 'in transforming the terms of public discourse' (Mills 1997, 117). Extending Mills'

(1997) exposition of the racial contract, Steyn (2012, 12) contends that an ‘ignorance contract may be regarded as a subclause of the racial contract’. As a vital facet of the racial contract, ignorance is intentional rather than inadvertent. Mills (1997, 19 emphasis in original) states that ignorance is,

... in no way *accidental*, but *prescribed* by the terms of the Racial Contract, which requires a certain schedule of structured blindness and opacities in order to establish and maintain the white polity.

Similarly, in reference to the education system, Gillborn (2005, 499) contends that the ‘tacit intentionality’ in social structures which produces the ‘racist outcomes of contemporary policy may not be coldly calculated but they are far from accidental’. Nevertheless, White ignorance ensures that, overall, Whites have little conscious awareness of their/our role in reinscribing whiteness (Gillborn 2005, 490) and therefore little impetus to examine their/our implication in the systems which privilege them/us (Durey & Thompson 2012, 159).

Ignorance in textbooks

Ignorance is perpetuated and extended in a number of ways: absence, distortion, exaggeration and misinformation (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 399). For the purposes of this thesis, I identify these aspects of ignorance through the conceptual lens of White solipsism in which the White perspective is implicitly (mis)interpreted as universal (Rich 1979, 299). The implicitness of this misconception is crucial. Rather than a conscious choice to privilege one among multiple perspectives, White solipsism produces tunnel-vision in which ‘only white values, interests, and needs are considered important and worthy of attention’ (Sullivan 2006, 17). This myopia reproduces the ‘conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement’ that Ansley (1997, 592) identifies as central to whiteness. White solipsism also normalises disregard for non-Whites and ignorance of alternative perspectives, producing distorted representations. White solipsism is evident in constructions of narratives of Australian history in textbooks: framing the British as settlers rather than invaders; describing Australia as new or distant land; portraying exploration as ‘unlocking the land’ rather than ‘losing the land’; centring the importance of land to Whites while ignoring its importance for Aborigines; privileging White entitlement to employment and resources such as gold over non-White access, and so on. The distortion inherent to White solipsism also produces

discourses of reversal in which, for example, Aborigines are framed as threatening Whites rather than Whites being framed as threatening to Aborigines.

White solipsism necessarily means White knowledge is incomplete and therefore distorted. Given that one of the main ways whiteness is enacted is through knowledge construction (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 399), White solipsism guarantees that whiteness is synonymous with misunderstanding and misrepresentation as argued by Mills (1997, 19). This distortion is particularly relevant to the power of whiteness to represent self and other (Green & Sonn 2006, 382; Yancy 2004b, 16), wherein Whites are constructed as subjects, while non-Whites are either absent or subjected to the White gaze and positioned as objects (Hage 1998, 18). The tunnel-vision of White solipsism produces a 'fatally skewed optic' Mills (2007, 25) which supports,

... a conviction of exceptionalism and superiority that seems vindicated by the facts, and thenceforth, circularly, shaping perception of the facts. We rule the world because we are superior; we are superior because we rule the world.

I refer to this conviction as White exceptionalism. In comparison to the full humanity of Whites, non-Whites are positioned on a 'lower ontological and moral rung' (Mills 2007, 26). As Du Bois (1998 [1920], 192) states, non-Whites 'are not "men" in the sense that Europeans are men'. This discursive positioning is distinct from non-Whites' legal status or self-understandings (Hage 1998, 19; Vass 2016, 372). I trace the reproduction of ignorance through continuities and changes to discourses of White solipsism and exceptionalism in textbooks.

Rationale

The education system forms one of the 'white, middle-class institutions responsible for defining and sustaining a normative cultural order' (Kenny 2000, 9). As a key agent for cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), the education system is a crucial site for the reiteration or disruption of performances of whiteness. The silence which normalises whiteness positions White cultural practices, such as how education is 'done', as race-neutral and meritocratic, erasing the power relations which privilege particular cultural practices over others (Brayboy *et al.* 2007, 167).

Racial inequality is produced, in part, by systemic, structural phenomena that 'remain entrenched, often unconsciously, in our minds, and within the structures of

our society, and particularly our educational structures' (Smith & Lander 2012, 336). Tacit or structural ignorance results from historical processes in which normative epistemologies are internalised pre-reflectively. Hence, Solomon, Portelli, Daniel and Campbell (2005, 150) stress that while educational materials are written without overt recognition of the impact of whiteness, 'these materials will continue to reinforce marginalisation and exclusion regardless of their writers' intentions'. Examining the inter-generational transfer of ideologies which contribute to racial inequality can inform the interruption of this process. The fact that race has to continually be 'made and re-made' (Lawler 2012, 411) suggests the possibility of disrupting this performance, and thereby destabilising whiteness. Given that the unmarked and unnamed status of whiteness is crucial to its power (Dyer 1997, 45; Elder, Ellis & Pratt 2004, 221), naming and interrogating whiteness is central to interrupting this power. As Mlcek (2011, 824-5) notes, the practices and assumptions of whiteness that are erased by their acceptance as normative can be critiqued by 'exploring the characteristics of the Eurocentric curriculum'.

Storying the nation: From White Australia to the History Wars

National histories do not merely innocently reproduce cultural myths. In the same way as other narratives, histories are constructed rather than given. As Bruner (1991, 8) states, histories 'do not exist, as it were, in some real world, waiting there patiently and eternally to be veridically mirrored in a text'. Rather, histories are constructed through selecting certain topics and arranging these into a coherent narrative. This process highlights certain events and protagonists and the relationships between them, while omitting or subordinating other events and protagonists (Attwood 1996, 100-1). History is also deliberately engineered to serve particular aims. Rather than an objective record of 'what happened' then, histories reflect particular viewpoints (Stratton 1998, 18). In this thesis, I highlight the racial interests underlying these viewpoints. In colonised nations such as Australia, foundational narratives are 'deliberately fashioned' to establish the legitimacy of the nation (Day 2005, 180; see also Windschuttle 2002, 3). This entails disregarding the impact of colonisation on indigenous peoples. While colonisation continues and colonised peoples remain to make counter-claims, colonised nations are obliged to reiterate and justify their assertions of ownership to ensure their narratives are privileged over competing claims. In this process, unflattering elements of history are not simply forgotten, but actively denied (McKenna 2002, 94). Spencer and Gillen's (1912 cited Harris 2003, 99) statement that 'it is well to draw the veil over the past history of the relationship between the blackfellow and the whiteman' reveals

the intentional nature of these omissions. Denial is evident in the changing narrative of Australian history over the twentieth century.

Early Australian histories such as Melville (1835), West (1852) and Rusden (1883) ignored pre-colonial Aboriginal history. Nevertheless, post-colonisation Aboriginal-White relations were discussed at length and the moral implications of frontier conflict explored (Curthoys 1999, 13). As the colonial nation approached Federation however, these histories were substantially revised, omitting discussion of frontier conflict out of concern for the newly-forming nation's image and international reputation (Curthoys 2008, 241-2; Harris 2003, 99; Reynolds 1999, 92). In these histories, as Curthoys (1999, 15-16) notes, frontier conflict was 'elided, suppressed, forgotten, or viewed as so long ago that we in the present have no connection with those people or those events'. Aboriginal depopulation was framed as the inevitable consequence of a backward race giving way before an advanced one via the deployment of doctrines of the self-exterminating Aborigine (Ryan 2010) or 'doomed race theory' (Breen 2008). The erasure of Aborigines from the foundational narrative at this time not only positioned the imminent nation favourably but also functioned to construct it as White, eliding the racially diverse composition of the population (Curthoys 1999, 7; Macintyre & Clark 2003, 43). The histories produced during this era of 'the great Australian silence' (Stanner 2009, 189) were largely consensual, narrating a triumphant tale of White economic, social, cultural and political development, overwhelmingly focused on elite, White males. The success of the nation implicitly asserted its legitimacy while the exclusion of opposing perspectives stymied any potential challenges.

Triumphalist histories dominated until the production of alternative historical narratives from the 1970s, which centred previously silenced voices – White workers and women, non-White immigrants and Aborigines (Macintyre & Clark 2003, 173; Manne 2003b). In particular, the restoration of Aborigines to Australian history had profound consequences (Carter 2006, 76). By positioning Aborigines rather than Europeans as the first discoverers, explorers and colonists of Australia, British colonisation was reframed as an invasion rather than a foundational event of discovery and settlement (Attwood 1996, 103). Constructing Aborigines as sovereign peoples who farmed, managed and defended their land challenged the doctrine of *terra nullius* which had provided the legal justification for colonisation. Instead of a progressive gesture of colonisation, the civilising mission was framed as a self-serving justification which condoned a land grab via the ruthless dispossession and

massacre of the traditional owners. With their justifications exposed, British colonists were depicted as ignorant at best or savage racists at worst, undermining notions of British 'justice, humanitarianism and egalitarianism' which were central to constructions of national identity (Attwood 1996, 104).

These 'black armband' (Blainey 1993) histories echoed those from the nineteenth-century by restoring frontier violence to the foundational narrative. However, the interpretive lens through which Aboriginal-White relations were theorised was radically different. Whether sympathetic or 'crudely racist' (Curthoys 1999, 13), nineteenth-century historians' ideas of Aboriginality were significantly shaped by colonial conceptualisations of savagery and civilisation. Although some nineteenth-century historians anguished over the moral implications of frontier violence, the overarching morality of the colonial project as a civilising mission was rarely disputed. Their failure to critique colonisation demonstrated an implicit conviction that White supremacy was unproblematic. In contrast, revisionist histories portrayed 'the other side of the frontier' (Reynolds 1982), incorporating Aboriginal perspectives. To various extents, these histories embodied the spirit of Stanner's (1979, 340) admonishment to White Australians to 'use direct Aboriginal testimony to illuminate their problems with us, not ours with them'. Colonial conceptions of Aboriginality were superseded by revised anthropological representations of Aborigines as the bearers of worthy, noble cultures, such as Stanner's premise of the 'inherent dignity and value of Aboriginal thought and belief' (Barwick, Beckett & Reay 1985, 41). Aborigines were no longer depicted as passively acquiescing to colonisation. Aboriginal violence was constructed not as the inherent behaviour of hostile 'savages' but as a response to White invasion. Rather than the inevitable 'fading away' of Stone Age people in the face of 'civilisation', depopulation was attributed to dispossession, disease, sexual abuse and frontier violence. Instead of being dismissed due to its incommensurability, Aboriginal culture was acknowledged as sophisticated and complex.

Whereas histories published prior to the 1970s which challenged triumphalist narratives, such as Turnbull's 1948 *Black War*, were marginalised, the changing social context of the 1970s meant the revisionist histories published in this period were not so easily dismissed. The publication of revisionist histories coincided with an era of social change which saw the advent of decolonisation movements and increased recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. This era also fostered the postmodern turn in which the totalising White Enlightenment narrative of progress

was relegated from its positioning as 'truth' to 'just another set of narratives' (Eagleton 1987). Similarly, the White historical perspective was relegated from its positioning as undisputed authority to a partisan viewpoint. From the relativistic perspective of postmodernity, White colonisation is 'insufferable arrogance' rather than a 'beneficent gift to the colonized' (Buchan & Heath 2006, 6).

Postmodern changes facilitated the acceptability of new discourses of Aboriginality. Although postmodernity remains a White discursive repertoire, it nevertheless engenders space for non-White perspectives to be included. By providing a platform for Aboriginal perspectives and elevating Aboriginal rights, revisionist histories disrupt the normative privileging of White history. Moreover, revisionist histories have been crucial for establishing an intellectual and cultural milieu which threatens White material interests by supporting Aboriginal land claims and subsequent government action. For example, the majority judgement in the High Court's Mabo ruling, which overturned the doctrine of *terra nullius*, reflected revisionist histories to the extent of making direct reference to Reynolds' work (Broome 1996, 71; Hunter 1996, 12; Manne 2003c, 3). Consequently, Whites with vested interests such as miners and pastoralists responded to these challenges to White possession, extending the arena of the debate from the academic realm to public forums. The election of the Howard conservative government in 1996 exacerbated the politicisation and vitriol of these debates, to the extent that the dispute became dubbed the 'History Wars' (Manne 2009b; Macintyre & Clark 2003, 4-5).

Politicising the curriculum

One arena in which the History Wars is fought is the school history curriculum. Attempts to influence the school curriculum evidence recognition of the political nature of knowledge production (Foucault 1980a; Gustafson 2007, 155). As Sleeter and Grant (2011, 185) assert, debates about curriculum content 'can be understood broadly as struggles for power to define the symbolic representation of the world and of society'. As with the wider debate, in relation to the history curriculum, the History Wars focuses on the relative privileging of Whites in comparison to Aborigines. The key area of contention in the History Wars concerns the nature of Aboriginal dispossession and how this dispossession reflects on the contemporary Australian nation (Carter 2006, 12). Triumphalist histories construct the British as brave and resourceful pioneers who peacefully 'settled' and transformed a hostile environment (Attwood 2005, 14-15). In these histories, the narrative focuses almost exclusively on Whites and White achievement. The dispossessed Aborigines, in

comparison, are largely disregarded. Favourable portrayals of Whites are boosted by a steadfast refusal to critique White motives and behaviour. In contrast, revisionist histories critique White behaviour to some extent, focus less on Whites, and incorporate some Aboriginal content, such as Aboriginal perspectives and experiences of dispossession. From this viewpoint, the British are conceptualised as invaders who violently dispossessed the original owners of the land.

Taylor (2013) contends that only one side is fighting the history wars. Conservative politicians and commentators advocate returning to the triumphalist narrative reminiscent of early twentieth century histories (Clendinnen 2006; Henderson 2005). For example, in his 2006 Australia Day speech then Prime Minister Howard demanded that Australian history present 'an objective record of achievement', quarantined from postmodern critique. In this speech, Howard (2006) also sought to refocus history on White culture as the 'dominant cultural pattern' and hence the appropriate focus for Australian history:

Most nations experience some level of cultural diversity while also having a dominant cultural pattern running through them. In Australia's case, that dominant pattern comprises Judeo-Christian ethics, the progressive spirit of the Enlightenment and the institutions and values of British political culture ...

Consistent with current rhetorical custom, the triumphalist (White) argument is framed in putatively race-neutral cultural and religious terminology, referencing Australia's Western civilisation and Judeo-Christian heritage, values and beliefs. In this way, the triumphalist case is positioned as representing the nation a whole. In contrast, revisionist histories are framed as unduly emphasising particular group interests to the detriment of this putative national interest. The rhetorical manoeuvre whereby White group interests are reframed as universal and unraced, while non-White interests are raced, is normalised in current Australian lexicon (Markus 2001, 26; Nicoll 2004a, 19).

The idea that Judeo-Christian, or White, achievement is beleaguered in Australian history is a common refrain from conservatives. Indeed, in an address to the conservative think tank, Institute for Public Affairs, former Prime Minister Abbott likened the putative marginalisation of White culture to 'the great Australian silence' (Stanner 2009, 189) of almost total omission of Aborigines from Australian history (Hall 2013; Knott 2013):

There is a new version of the great Australian silence – this time about the Western canon, the literature, the poetry, the music, the history and above all the faith without which our culture and civilisation are unimaginable.

Similarly, the Abbott government-appointed reviewers of the Australian Curriculum (Donnelly & Wiltshire 2014, 5) concluded that the history curriculum does ‘not pay enough attention to the impact of Western civilisation and Judeo-Christianity on Australia’s development, institutions and broader society and culture’. While less hyperbolic than Abbott’s assertion, this claim, in various forms, is repeated forty-eight times in the review. In particular, the reviewers position Western civilisation and Judeo-Christianity as being crowded out by an ‘undue emphasis’ on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories (2014, 176). More ominous is their proposal to ‘detail the darker social cultural challenges and difficulties faced by Indigenous communities’ (2014, 180) to ‘balance’ the putative ‘negative light’ cast on ‘Western civilisation and Australia’s development’ (2014, 181). Overall, these claims establish a justification for more content on White history and less on Aboriginal history, and for that history to portray Whites more favourably by disregarding Aboriginal experiences of colonisation while portraying Aborigines more negatively. In the context of the History Wars, these claims betray an attempt to shift Australian history towards pre-1970s triumphant histories which privilege Whites and instil ignorance about Aboriginal experiences of colonisation; that is, for a return to ‘the great Australian silence’ (Stanner 2009, 189).

The development of a national curriculum in the 1990s facilitated political intervention in this arena. As the History Wars were extended to the school history curriculum, political intervention centred on racialised elements of the history curriculum, specifically representations of Whites vis-à-vis Aborigines. The impact of this intervention is difficult to assess. On the one hand, it may represent mere White noise which is ignored by educators. On the other hand, the aggressive assertion of whiteness may impede further progress in producing more inclusive histories. To this end, this thesis asks:

- How do the visibility and substantive nature of whiteness and otherness in Australian social science textbooks change over time?
- What is the role of ignorance, as absence, White solipsism and White exceptionalism, in these changing constructions?

Chapter Three: Methods

Rationale

In societies such as contemporary Australia in which whiteness is normalised, the beliefs and practices of whiteness are often unarticulated (Aveling 2004, 69). White enculturation positions whiteness as universal yet imperceptible to Whites (Green & Sonn 2005, 480); a vacant social category. Given the conceptual invisibility of whiteness to Whites (Mills 1997, 117), the options for researching whiteness are limited. My research interest in epistemologies of ignorance, of which people are by definition ignorant, exacerbates the challenges of this research (McGoey 2012, 559). Hence, deciding how to conduct my research took a relatively long time. Firstly, I had to decide what performances of whiteness would best meet my research aims. In order for my results to be applicable for Australia overall, I focused on national-level practices. I considered including questions in national surveys such as the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes and the Australian Electoral Study; examining practices of nationalism; practices of whiteness in different institutional settings, such as the family, education, social work, medicine, media, law or government; and differences in the performances of whiteness depending on social class and/or political orientation via focus group and in-depth interviews. Finally I settled on examining children's literature as a key site for the cultural reproduction of whiteness.

Introducing her analysis of children's fiction⁴, Bradford (2001, 12) states that children's texts are 'an important and neglected component of cultural formation, and crucially implicated in the development of ideologies of race'. Similarly, Bettelheim (1977 cited Pescosolido, Grauerholz & Milkie 1997, 444) asserts that literature is 'one of the most powerful vehicles through which children assimilate their cultural heritage'. As such, children's texts are relevant to my analysis of racial enculturation. Rather than fiction, which encompasses a diversity of perspectives depending on the author, I chose to analyse textbooks as records of the dominant understandings and values of the society in which they are published (Provenzo, Shaver & Bello 2011, 2). In addition to being representative of dominant understandings, textbooks also have a greater reach than fiction. Access to children's fiction varies dramatically according to socio-economic status. In contrast, textbooks disseminate cultural norms to all children who attend school – a 'vast "captive" audience of student readers' (Silverman 1992, 203).

⁴In the context of my thesis, children includes young people.

Methods

I investigate whiteness in textbooks via content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Content analysis is the study of texts whereby selected concepts are counted and scrutinised (Churchill 2013). I employ content analysis to examine textbook images. My implementation of content analysis is explicated in Chapter Four. To complement my analysis of images, I employ critical discourse analysis to examine textbooks' narratives. While other qualitative research methods seek to understand the social world and the meanings given to it, discourse analysis examines the social construction of these meanings (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 6). As such, discourse analysis is germane to my examination of the social construction of race, in particular whiteness. Due to the large volume of data in my research sample, I considered Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis unsuitable. Rather I adopt a Foucauldian style of discourse analysis while also using insights from Fairclough's method. While whiteness can, arguably, be explored in any topic, I analysed discourses of whiteness in topics that either exemplify White solipsism – discovery/exploration and national identity – or focus on racialised others – Aborigines and non-White immigrants. Working through my sample in chronological order, I examined the texts for discourses on these topics. This was an iterative process. Through the process of data analysis, I began observing discursive strategies that I had not noticed previously. Each time this happened, I returned to the beginning of the sample in order to check for the presence of the newly observed strategy. This process continued until no new results were generated. My analysis of White discursive repertoires are presented in three chapters: Aboriginality (Chapter Five), Discovery and Exploration (Chapter Six), and Australianness (Chapter Seven), which incorporates national identity and non-White immigration.

My research not only analyses the manifest content of textbooks, but omissions and concealed elements as well, focusing on the 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Mills 1997) which inform the performance of whiteness. My research methods, content analysis and critical discourse analysis, were chosen because of their applicability to the analysis of both explicit and oblique social practices. As a longitudinal study, my research covers both the White Australia era in which White supremacy was overt, and the current multicultural, putatively 'post-racial' era in which White supremacy is normalised and thereby rendered invisible. The transformation of whiteness from a symbol of superiority to one of normality entailed a shift in the expression of whiteness, from codes of enunciation to codes of evasion (Moses 2005, 50),

necessitating new epistemologies of ignorance. Both discourse and content analysis are suitable for examining these concealed or coded aspects of social life in addition to their overt manifestations. For example, discourse analysis 'makes explicit the social structures and processes ... that would otherwise be viewed as opaque' (Green & Sonn 2006, 391). Moreover, both methods are suitable for examining omissions. Krippendorff (2004, 345-6) asserts that 'content analysts are as interested in what is not said as they are in what is said'. Similarly, Rose (2007, 165) contends that 'discourse analysis also involves reading for what is not seen or said'.

While audience reception is a valid area of enquiry, it is beyond the scope of my research aims. In her early analysis of television programmes, Edgar (1975, 245) notes that, '[w]hile a systematic study of content does not tell us what happens to people who watch the programmes it will tell us what is there for people to use'. Similarly, my research investigates the content of textbooks rather than individual acceptance of, or resistance to, this content. Examining individual interpretations would be problematic given the extended time period of my sample: 1950 to 2010. Questioning individuals about the impact of texts up to six decades after their exposure to those texts would be unlikely to generate reliable results. Similarly, the epistemologies of ignorance which inform whiteness intimate that this line of investigation would be futile.

The main benefit of using multiple methods is increased validity as a consequence of triangulating the results. Moreover, it allows the limitations of each method to be offset while retaining the benefits of each. In my research, the highly structured approach of content analysis tempers the flexibility and adaptability of discourse analyses. On the other hand, using multiple methods is time consuming and may be epistemologically incoherent. For example, discourse analysis is a qualitative research method whereas content analysis is often framed as quantitative (Neuendorf 2002). However, Krippendorff (2004, 16) argues that the division between qualitative and quantitative research is arbitrary and false, stating that 'all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers'. Similarly, Rose (2007, 71) asserts that 'every stage of content analysis, from formulating the research question, to developing coding categories, to interpreting the results, entails decisions about meaning and significance'. Given that my coding categories code for underlying meaning and were developed inductively from the analysed texts (see Chapter Four), I consider

my content analysis to be qualitative and to complement rather than conflict with the qualitative nature of discourse analysis.

Both content and discourse analysis are applicable for analysing the diverse data within my sample. In a similar way to the inductive development of my content analysis codes, the discourses I identified emerged in the process of analysis rather than being determined beforehand. While I found the inductive aspect of analysis challenging, in particular in the development of my content analysis codes, it demonstrates a key strength of inductive approaches – the flexibility to match analytic techniques to the emerging data.

Both discourse analysis and qualitative approaches to content analysis frame discourse as constructing and constituting the meanings it appears to merely describe (Krippendorff 2013, 22; Phillips & Hardy 2002, 13). From this perspective, results are not ‘found’, but narrated into being (Krippendorff 2013, 22; Wetherell 2001, 396). My analysis, determined by my theoretical lens, research questions and standpoint, produces one set of results among multiple possible interpretations. In order to minimise any misleading effects of these influences, I followed guidelines for qualitative researchers: clarifying my standpoint (see below) and incorporating extensive textual materials – quotes and images – from the analysed texts to facilitate readers’ critique of my interpretations (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 74).

Rigour is also augmented by ensuring that coding instructions for content analysis are clear and comprehensive to aid replicability (Churchill 2013, 263). One of the strengths of content analysis is that it prevents bias in terms of searching to confirm what the researcher thinks they already know (Rose 2007, 60-1). In order to offset any increased salience from discourses which conformed to my expectations, I structured my discourse analysis by topic, collecting every reference to the topic from each text chronologically, after which analysis was undertaken. Using more than one method also tempered potential subjectivity by allowing the results of each to be compared and contrasted.

Standpoint

As a qualitative and critical researcher, I acknowledge that every aspect of research, from the topics and theoretical paradigms chosen to the interpretations made are influenced by my standpoint (Gustafson 2007, 155). Rather than claiming and performing objectivity, such as through the use of the disembodied voice, I

acknowledge my position as a White critic of whiteness, who aims to interrogate whiteness. My choice of research methods reflect this aim. Critical discourse analysis, for example, 'advocates social commitment and interventionism in research' (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 447; see also Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 63-4; van Dijk 2001, 307). My aim notwithstanding, it is important to stress that writing this thesis is a performance of whiteness with the likely outcome of increasing the privileges of whiteness I receive as a White woman living in Australia. Not only do I benefit personally from critiquing whiteness however, but my critique reinscribes whiteness by affirming the institutional apparatus of White research within which this thesis is situated (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 400), in particular the White research methods I use. These dilemmas are explicated in the following section.

As a White woman, I am an ongoing recipient of the power and privileges of whiteness that this thesis critiques (Elder, Ellis & Pratt 2004, 211). My research does not position me outside of these systems. Indeed, as Nakayama and Krizek (1995, 302) state, '[w]hether or not one discursively positions oneself as "white", there is little room for maneuvering [sic] out of the power relations imbedded in whiteness'. Being positioned as White by racialised social systems results in the accrual of privileges regardless of consent or awareness (Kowal 2008, 341). Notwithstanding my thesis' potential to unsettle some performances of whiteness and, therefore, be disdained in these domains, my critique of whiteness in the form of this thesis is a performance of whiteness which may bolster my access to the power and privileges of whiteness. Given that it is largely impossible to operate outside of the social structures that position me as White, I feel that it is incumbent on me to use my privileged position within these structures to interrogate and disrupt them (Kessar 2006, 360; Leonardo 2009, 93; Lund & Carr 2010, 299). Regardless of this intent though, to be a White person living in Australia 'works as a constant repudiation of Indigenous sovereignty' (Riggs & Augoustinos 2005, 466).

According to Probyn (2004), the White critic of whiteness is in a unique position to effect change, while Nicoll (2004) states that using White privilege to critique the system 'unsettles the connection between embodiment and "perspective"'. The privileged status of White critics can be seen in the revival and academic recognition accorded to whiteness studies after White scholars began publishing in the field (Allen 1994; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1993; Ignatiev 1996; Lipsitz 1998; McIntosh 1988; Roediger 1991). As Roediger (1991, 74) states, 'the growth and profile of studies of whiteness has itself reflected the privileges enjoyed by white scholars'. My access to

the privileges of whiteness notwithstanding, my enculturation into whiteness, in particular the epistemologies of ignorance which I endeavour to identify, obscures the visibility of whiteness itself. As Byrne (2006, 40) explains, White enculturation makes recognising whiteness difficult:

... white people are long trained in colour blindness – that is, the inability to see the impact of racist processes on their lives and the lives of others. Thus, a white researcher is unlikely to be the most adept analyst of whiteness and white privilege.

As numerous non-White authors have noted, non-Whites are much more aware of whiteness than Whites, often because survival in White-dominated societies necessitates it (Du Bois 2008, 6; hooks 1997; Lorde 1984, 114-5; Moreton-Robinson 2004, 85; Morrison 1992; Yancy 2004a, 122). Usually framed as a privilege of whiteness, this ignorance regarding race is a disadvantage as far as my research is concerned. My theoretical framework, which draws on both White and non-White scholarship, compensates for this ignorance somewhat, providing me with a new lens through which to examine the world, thereby gradually rendering whiteness at least partially visible. Outside my research bubble, however, my enculturation in whiteness is ongoing, diluting these effects. Retaining my critical whiteness lens requires constant vigilance to overcome this influence.

Textbook producers are also, to varying extents, enculturated into whiteness. Consequently, as Gillborn (2005, 490) emphasises, their reproduction of whiteness is largely unintentional: 'those who are implicated in whiteness rarely even realize its existence – let alone their own role in its repeated iteration and resignification'. Critical whiteness scholarship, therefore, is 'not an assault on white people per se' (Gillborn 2005, 488; see also Nicoll 2004) but on the often unintentional reproduction of whiteness. Rather than critiquing textbook authors and publishers, my aim is to identify the reiteration of whiteness within the texts in order to disrupt their repetition. Given that critiquing others can implicitly position the self as outside of what is being critiqued (Ahmed 2004), it is important to stress that my own writing is not exempt from reproducing whiteness. To the extent that my thesis conforms to and reproduces institutional norms it affirms rather than disrupts the elite position of White academia. Moreover, by using White research methods, even when these methods are deployed to critique whiteness, the privileged status of these methods

is reproduced. As Lorde (1984) argues, using the master's tools to dismantle the master's house can only achieve minimal change.

Limitations

Connell's (2007) critique of Australian sociology, in which theory from the metropole is applied to the Australian situation, pertains to my research. Whiteness studies is largely a North American product. With the exception of Dyer, the White scholars listed above as key to the recent revival of whiteness studies are all North American. Moreover, this literature builds on a long tradition of writing by African-American scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois (1970 [1910]; 1999 [1920]), James Baldwin (1953; 1963) and Ralph Ellison (1947) beginning in the early 20th century. Whiteness studies then is clearly a metropolitan discipline, although not an unambiguously White one and, as Steyn and Conway (2010, 288) observe now 'thoroughly international'. In contrast, my research methods, content and discourse analysis, are White. I use these research methods because they are familiar to me and readily accessible. To be candid, short of reading Connell's *Southern Theory*, I made no attempt to locate non-White research methods to use. In hindsight, this is a limitation of my research; to have employed a 'southern' research method little known in White academia would have better suited my research aims, as it would have reduced the degree to which my thesis reaffirms whiteness. To the extent that my thesis conforms to conventions of whiteness rather than challenging these conventions, it can be seen as a performance of whiteness. On the other hand, as Connell (2007, 95) concedes, attempting to use 'southern theories' without access to the background, language and culture within which those theories are situated is likely to 'go very badly astray'. This is not an endorsement of essentialist notions whereby certain ways of knowing are innately linked to particular bodies. Rather, it recognises that methodologies develop from and make sense within diverse ways of knowing, which are not necessarily accessible to those enculturated differently. Attempting to employ theories or methods divested from their broader cultural and intellectual context is likely to result in distortion. As a form of cultural pillage it is also unethical.

Sample

My sample consists of Australian secondary school social science textbooks published between 1950 and 2010. Social science is an umbrella term encompassing subjects such as history, geography, civics and citizenship, social studies and ethics (Wong 1991, 33). For my research on the relative whiteness of constructions of Australianness, I limited analysis to narratives of Australian history in social science

texts, which were variously labelled social studies, history, SOSE or humanities. For the purposes of my analysis I classify these texts as two types – social studies and histories. Whereas the history, SOSE and humanities texts in my sample are all structured as chronological narratives of Australian history, the social studies texts have a far broader narrative of human ‘progress’ from prehistoric times. Sections on Australian history similar to those found in history texts are dispersed throughout these narratives.

I chose to analyse social science texts because this discipline is positioned as a legitimate authority on society (Taylor 2012, 48; Wong 1991, 44). In particular, historical knowledge is central to citizens’ conceptions of nationhood (Tosh 2008, 120). This domain, therefore, is appropriate for examining constructions of Australianness. The time period 1950-2010 was selected to encompass periods in which the performance of race in Australia transformed from *de jure* to *de facto* White supremacy. This time period captures the end of the White Australia Policy and the emergence of multiculturalism in the late 1970s (Dutton 2002; Tavan 2005). Texts both prior and subsequent to these changes enable the changes over this time period to be mapped. I am particularly interested in the shifts in language and discursive strategies which rendered whiteness ‘invisible’ following the end of the White Australia era. Prior to this time the racial contract was explicit, ‘making it clear that whites were the privileged race and the egalitarian social contract applied only to them’ (Mills 1997, 73). However, during the contemporary era of *de facto* White supremacy, the racial contract has been obscured via being rendered ‘conceptually invisible’ (Mills 1997, 117).

Due to its positioning as a legitimate and knowledgeable authority, the education system is a key site of social reproduction (Wadham, Pudsey & Boyd 2007, 181). For Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), the process of education is inseparable from symbolic violence because of the power of the education system to impose culturally arbitrary meanings as legitimate. The expression of knowledge is never a politically neutral act (Foucault 1980a; Gustafson 2007, 155). Rather than representing objective and impartial knowledge, textbooks define, shape, construct and elevate one version of reality as legitimate (Zinn & Eitzen 1996, 115). Textbooks evidence the outcome of power struggles by revealing whose perspectives are legitimated and whether singular or multiple perspectives are represented. For Apple and Christian-Smith (1991, 2), textbooks reproduce cultural hegemonies, reflecting the interests of elite groups: ‘what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power

relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender/sex, and religious groups'. Similarly, Sleeter and Grant (2011, 185) assert that, as controllers and producers of curriculum materials, dominant groups are able to determine whose 'subjective interpretations of reality and value judgements are projected as fact'. However, the interests of dominant groups may be in tension with textbooks' role as the voice of moral authority in which authors follow an impetus to comply with wider social norms. Indeed, Terra and Bromley (2012, 137) demonstrate textbook convergence across the 93 countries covered by their research, whereby global norms create a 'normative, ideological prescription' which substantially impacts national-level curricula (see also Wong 1991, 44). While the History Wars indicates attempts by elite interests to influence conceptions of history, the existence of the debate presupposes that existing curricula do not reflect these interests.

Either way, textbook writers function as 'cultural gatekeepers' (Silverman 1992) whose influence extends far beyond their portrayal by Tischler (1988, 372) as 'only the messengers'. The exalted status of textbooks means they are powerfully positioned not only to privilege particular ontologies, but also to establish their own epistemologies as normative. The canonical status of textbook knowledge is crucial to legitimising White ideologies and normalising whiteness. The narrow and exclusive textbook perspective is cause for concern, especially given that textbooks tend to structure teachers' knowledge of a field (Terra & Bromley 2012, 141). As Marsh and Hart (2011, 63) explain, 'teachers tend to rely on the textbook as the sole basis for organising a teaching unit'. Similarly, while not denying the individual meaning teachers and students construct from textbooks, Foster (1999, 253) asserts that 'all available evidence suggests that the influence of the textbook is profound'.

Accessing textbooks

According to Bromley, Meyer and Ramirez (2011, 552), cross-national 'educational enrolment information has been tracked by international bodies for many decades and is very widely available ... [but] curricula are generally poorly tracked and recorded, particularly over time' while for textbooks 'the limited availability of data is even more extreme ... [because] outmoded books are rarely preserved'. My own attempts to locate textbooks support Bromley, Meyer and Ramirez's conclusions regarding a dearth of outdated textbooks. With the exception of texts that are considered collectors' items, outdated textbooks are often not retained by students, libraries or second-hand stores. Whereas a representative sample from a comprehensive list of compulsory or recommended textbooks would have been

ideal, in reality, as explained below, texts are rarely prescribed. My sample was also restricted due to the limited availability of outdated textbooks. Consequently, I collated a convenience sample, rather than a representative one. Sampling validity is the degree to which a sample of texts accurately represents the population under analysis (Krippendorff 2004, 319). Representative samples are less crucial for qualitative analyses (Tranter 2013, 100), with validity determined by the 'informativeness' of the sample (Churchill 2013, 262). The different strategies I employed to access textbooks are outlined in the following section.

My original (unsuccessful) intention for determining my textbook sample was to collate a list of compulsory or recommended textbooks for my research period and randomly select texts from each decade. I began my search in the Archives section of the State Library of Tasmania. This search yielded little useful information. I also searched the records for every listed high school on the Department of Education's online archive (LINC Tasmania). In line with Bromley, Meyer & Raminéz's (2011) findings, the series created were mainly admissions registers or student record cards, supplemented by occasional punishment registers and school magazines or newsletters. No references to recommended textbooks were noted. Further investigations replicated this experience. Anecdotally, in response to my questions regarding compulsory or recommended textbooks, the Department of Education's Principal Education Officer (PEO) for Curriculum averred that rather than texts being prescribed, '[t]eachers' own professional judgements have for a long time been highly valued with regard to resources' (private communication, January 23, 2013). This sentiment was reiterated in both current and past literature. For example, in the recent *Review of the Australian Curriculum* (Donnelly & Wiltshire 2014, 7) the decision not to review classroom resources was justified by stating that 'teachers are best placed to choose the most appropriate resources for their teaching and learning plans'. Similarly, the *Core Curriculum for Australian Schools* (Curriculum Development Centre 1980, 5) states that is not the Centre's role to provide 'detailed curriculum content and teaching methods, or to prescribe syllabuses or texts'.

Having determined that obtaining a representative sample was not feasible, I began collecting a convenience sample, which Babbie (2005, 189) defines as characterised by reliance on available subjects. In practice, this meant employing a multitude of strategies to obtain whatever texts I could; some successful, others not. I joined the Department of Education's SOSE-share email forum: 'a place for sharing ideas, resources and classroom practice for teachers of Society, History, Geography, Civics

and Citizenship as well as for those interested in social education more broadly'. My posts to this forum resulted in one offer to borrow outdated textbooks as well as a suggestion to contact previous PEOs for SOSE directly, which resulted in an additional loan of old textbooks. (Current PEO positions are generic rather than subject specific). At this stage it was reassuring to finally be accessing textbooks. Other initiatives such as contacting the Australian School Library Association and the university's School of Education yielded no results, while utilising social media resulted in one additional text for my collection.

I contacted textbooks publishers and was informed that Jacaranda has a partial archive in Brisbane which could be accessed onsite. I also discovered the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI) in Germany. Established following World War II to 'promote and provide a scientific basis for international understanding and reconciliation by maintaining balanced representations in textbooks', the GEI collection includes more than 70 000 non-German social science textbooks (GEI n.d., 2). How many (if any) of these texts covered secondary school Australian history was unclear. While it was reassuring to discover these sources of textbooks, before following these leads I wanted to exhaust my search for textbooks closer to home. With this in mind, I had an article printed in the local daily paper to request the loan of textbooks from the general public. Over the next few weeks I received 25 email responses, mainly from ex-teachers and collectors. Following up on these responses yielded a wide variety of texts. I also located a few textbooks at public and university libraries, and purchased some relatively recent textbooks from eBay and gumtree. I was immensely relieved to have begun accruing texts.

Sampling strategy

Through the process of cataloguing the texts loaned to me, I excluded those which were off-topic, such as geography or British histories, not written for secondary students, were outside the time period of my research or which focused on particular incidents, personalities or locations rather than covering Australian history more broadly. I then began the data immersion stage, studying the remaining texts, noting relevant discourses, as well as comparing and contrasting the different texts. At this point, I was struck by the diversity of the texts. In addition to disparate size, length and presentation, the content of the texts ranged from Australian history, to social studies' narratives of progress over long periods of time with relatively little Australian history, to the more recent composite SOSE and Humanities texts which, despite the integration implied by the titles, were clearly

delineated along discipline lines with distinct sections for History, Geography and Civics. In order to ensure any divergence I identified among the texts reflected meaningful differences rather than just this disparity, I altered my criteria for determining sample selection. I had originally planned to limit my analysis to lower secondary texts, but now decided that ensuring broadly similar content was more important. Given my research interest in narratives of Australianness, I decided to base my analysis on the Australian history component of texts. Because the school levels in which Australian history is covered varied over the period of my sample and classifying texts as either lower or senior secondary was not always obvious, I abandoned my initial plan of limiting my analysis based on year level and decided to use texts from any level of secondary school that covered Australian history. From this collection of texts, I then determined my research sample (see Table One).

For the 1950s and 1970s my sampling frame encompassed a manageable number of units for analysis: two and four texts or sets respectively. As such I considered it unnecessary to eliminate further texts. By sets I mean texts in which history is covered in more than one book, such as the four book series *Out of the Mist*⁵ which differs from history texts by not covering history chronologically. The term 'sets' also refers to texts which compartmentalise Australian history into two texts, the first covering history up until federation, World War I or II and the second covering the remaining twentieth century history. Most of my texts from the 1980s onwards consist of sets such as these. For the purposes of comparison, I count these sets as one text. A final contrived set in my sample is comprised of two unrelated texts covering restricted eras: *Australia This Century*, published in the 1980s, which only covers twentieth century history and *Voices from the Past*, published in the 1990s, which only covers history up to federation. Considered together, these texts form a set covering the usual range of Australian history texts and are included to increase the small sample sizes of the decades in which they were published.

In contrast to the 1950s and 1970s where I deemed eliminating further texts unnecessary, for the 1980s I had duplicate material, and for the remaining decades I had substantial numbers of units for analysis in my sampling frame – six for the 1960s and 1990s and nine for the 2000s. In order to prevent a wide disparity in numbers of texts/sets for each decade, and to make analysis manageable yet not

⁵ Texts are identified by (shortened) title rather than author. This decision is due to my sample containing texts with multiple authors as well as multiple texts by some authors. To reduce confusion, I use titles based on my conviction that titles are more readily distinguishable than authors and publication dates.

unduly restrict my sample, I limited the number of texts/sets per decade to a maximum of four. I favoured texts on the basis on popularity (multiple copies in my sampling frame, multiple re-printings) and longevity (subsequent editions). For example, *Their Ghosts May be Heard* was chosen due to its publication over a sixteen year period, 1983 to 1998, with two editions and thirteen re-printings. Jacaranda SOSE and Humanities texts used by current students were chosen due to their market saturation as judged by their availability in bookstores, libraries and second-hand online sites. Conversely, I eliminated texts that were unlikely to make a useful contribution to my results such as less comprehensive texts and texts with similar or duplicate content, such as many Jacaranda texts (see Table Two). This left four texts/sets for the 1960s, two for the 1980s and 1990s and three for the 2000s, which is commensurate with other decades while still facilitating rigorous analysis.

Table 1: Sample in order of publication date

Decade	Title	Genre	Editions ¹	Coverage
1950s	A Junior History	History	2	White history to 1950
	Out of the Mist Book One	Social studies	4	Not chronological ²
	Out of the Mist Book Two	Social studies	4	
	Out of the Mist Book Four	Social studies	2	
1960s	Colony to Nation	History		'Pre-history' to 1960
	Social Studies Sec Schools Book One	Social studies	1, 2	Not chronological
	Social Studies Sec Schools Book Two	Social studies		
	A Map History	History	1, 3	White history to 1960s
	Landmarks	History	1-3	White history to 1960s
1970s	A Down Under Story	History		White history to 1970s
	Australia's Two Centuries	History		White history to 1970s
	Australia's Frontiers	History		Up to 1970s
	The Land They Found	History		Up to 1945
1980s	Australia This Century	History		20 th century
	Was It Only Yesterday	History	1-3	20 th century
	Their Ghosts May Be Heard	History	1, 2	Up to Federation
1990s	Voices from the Past	History		Up to Federation
	SOSE 3	SOSE	1, 2	Up to Federation
	SOSE 4	SOSE	1, 2	20 th century
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2	SOSE		Up to 2000s
	Humanities Alive 3	Humanities	1, 2	Pre-WWI
	Humanities Alive 4	Humanities	1, 2	WWI onwards
	Humanities 3	Humanities		Pre-WWII
	Humanities 4	Humanities		WWII onwards

¹ Texts with no entries are first editions

² Social studies texts cover long periods of time, beginning with the Stone Age, but information is not presented chronologically.

Table 2: Excluded texts

Year	Title	Author	Reason for exclusion
1960	A Highway to Australian History and Civics	McCorkell	Third history text for this decade; least comprehensive
1964	Building a New Nation	Howard	Fourth history text for this decade; superfluous
1982	Modern Australia	Barcan, Blunden, Dwight & Shortus	Second 20 th century text for this decade; derived from 1970s text
1984	Investigating Our Past	Coupe	Third text by this author for this decade
1997	Australian History to Federation	Cotter	Restricted coverage; content replicated in SOSE 3
1997	SOSE History	Cotter	Exact replica of Australian History to Federation; content replicated in SOSE 3
1998	Australian History to 1975	Engwerda & Cotter	Closely replicated in SOSE 3 and 4
2000	SOSE Australian History	Engwerda, Cotter & Anderson	Closely replicated in SOSE 3 and 4 Second Editions
2004	SOSE Alive 3	Easton, Farrar, Brown <i>et al.</i>	Exact replica of first half of SOSE Alive History 2
2005	SOSE Alive 4	Farrar, Bedson, Easton <i>et al.</i>	Exact replica of second half of SOSE Alive History 2
2007	Humanities Alive History 2	Saldais, Jackson, Bedson <i>et al.</i>	Exact replica of first four chapters of both Humanities Alive 3 and 4
2007	Essentials History 2	Anderson & Low	Exact replica of first five chapters of both Humanities 3 and 4

Subsequent editions

My decision to favour texts with multiple additions enabled me to investigate the extent to which amendments to subsequent editions were based on changing social norms. In contrast to differences between disparate texts which could reflect their different authors or publishers as much as changing social contexts, changes between editions of a particular text indicate the *raison d'être* for the new editions. Rather than narratives being revised to reflect changes to society however, the standard approach in subsequent editions of texts in my sample was to merely append recent events or issues, such as changes of government and international policies, to the existing narrative and/or to update figures, such as population levels. The first text in my sample to evidence alterations in response to wider social change was the third edition of *Landmarks* (1987) in which an existing section on Aborigines was edited, expanded and positioned as the initial chapter (see pages 99-100, 152). Images were also updated in subsequent editions of the 1980s set in my sample (see

pages 96-98). Although significant changes occur in subsequent editions of the Jacaranda series of texts, to the extent of omitting entire chapters and including new ones, these revisions are explicitly linked to changing curricula rather than being primarily driven by perceived social change (I critique this claim on pages 88-9).

With the exception of the 1950s, the texts referred to throughout are first editions (unless otherwise stated) and are categorised in particular decades according to their publication dates rather than their period of use in classrooms as I have only sporadic, anecdotal evidence of textbook usage. This decision also reflects my research focus of textbooks as a record of cultural narratives for particular periods rather than their reception by students. Although both my 1950s history text and social studies set were initially published prior to the 1950s, these texts were included because they both had subsequent editions published in the 1950s and were the most suitable pre-1960s texts I had access to. I wanted to include pre-1960s texts as a baseline from which to examine changes in texts in response to the social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. Whereas the first editions of *Out of the Mist* were published just prior to the 1950s (1947-1950) however, the first edition of *A Junior History* was published two decades previously in 1934. Nevertheless, a second edition of *A Junior History* was published in 1950 with re-printings in 1953, 1956 and 1960, demonstrating its wide usage and continuing relevance for the 1950s and, indeed, the 1960s.

Both 1950s texts are also unique in being written specifically for Tasmanian students. With the exception of Jacaranda texts the remaining texts in my sample are not obviously directed to a particular geographically-based audience. Jacaranda texts, beginning with *SOSE 3* and *4* (1998), are marketed as written to cover the Victorian Essential Learning Standards. However, this focus has no discernible impact on content with the exception of some maps privileging Victorian locations (see Figure Seventeen, page 87).

In the following chapters I summarise my analysis. Chapter Four outlines changes to the structure and visual presentation of texts and describes the results of my content analysis of textbook images. My discourse analysis is reported in subsequent chapters, beginning with discourses of Aboriginality (Chapter Five), followed by discourses of discovery and exploration (Chapter Six) and discourses of Australianness (Chapter Seven).

Chapter Four: Visual Features

In this chapter I outline changes to visual presentation of textbooks, present the results of my content analysis of textbook images and discuss changes to textbook structure. My content analysis tallies the images contained in the texts, in particular the proportion of images which have the potential to affirm or disrupt whiteness. My examination of textbook structure and presentation provide a context for these results by identifying changes to textbooks' overall content and visual appeal. My analysis of textbook presentation focuses on the size and length of texts, use of colour and overall pictorality (average number of images per page). Textbook structure is assessed according to layout, changes and continuities to topics over time and the relative integration or siloing of White and non-White topics.

Images

All forms of representation are textual in the broadest sense. Visual images have 'therefore come to be regarded as "texts" and worth analysing as cultural artefacts that can be "read"' (Ali 2004, 266). In conjunction with narratives, textbook images produce and normalise social differences, creating naturalised categories of 'us' and 'them'. Images are profoundly effective in relaying messages, as their use in advertising and propaganda demonstrates. Zacharias (2004, 445) attributes the effectiveness of images to the fact that they perform their function without the need for reflection: 'the receiver does not have to invest the labour of reading but can decode the depicted message very quickly'. In relation to this project, textbook images can function to constitute ideas of Australianness and otherness even if the texts themselves are only skimmed.

One of the first challenges of this aspect of my research was determining what constituted an image. Although this may seem self-evident, in practice it was more complex and nuanced than expected. I worked chronologically, beginning with earlier texts. These 1950s and 1960s texts were extended narratives interspersed occasionally with simple line drawings such that the concept of images seemed straight-forward – any feature of the text apart from the main narrative. Over time, however, textbook narratives became segmented and texts became more pictorial. Figure One demonstrates the compartmentalisation of recent textbooks, in which categorising any features apart from the main narrative as an image is problematic. The main narrative contesting the inherent nomadicity of Aborigines in Figure One is accompanied by a compartmentalised section on Indigenous foods and an

activities section. In addition to the photograph of Murrandoo Yanner, there are two icons: one for 'then and now' and one for 'compare historical viewpoints'. In this instance, only Yanner's photograph is counted as an image (see criteria for determining images below).

Only hunters and gatherers?

IT HAS GENERALLY long been accepted that Australia's **Indigenous** people were traditionally all **nomadic** — moving from place to place within a particular territory as they hunted for and gathered food. Archaeological evidence recently discovered in Victoria seems to suggest, however, that at least some Indigenous peoples might have had fixed settlements.

Throughout history, people who have lived as **hunters and gatherers** have done so to survive. If food and water supplies — and other vital natural resources — were scarce in one area (or became 'used up'), they moved on. The more abundant the supplies of such resources in a particular area, the less likely would be the pressure to leave.

then & now

Indigenous food

FOODS EATEN: BY traditional Indigenous people depended on the location, but typically included **tubers**, nuts, crushed seeds, bush fruit, wild honey, fish and shellfish (including eels), birds and their eggs, reptiles, insects such as honey ants, and larvae such as witchetty grubs. Sometimes a possum, kangaroo, turtle, crocodile or emu was caught.

Source A

On 7 October 1999, a majority decision of the High Court of Australia upheld the dismissal of a charge against Aboriginal activist Murrandoo Yanner. Yanner had speared two crocodiles near the Gulf of Carpentaria, sharing the meat with his traditional Gangalidda people. He believed that he had a right to do this, even though it was against Queensland law. The High Court ruled that Queensland's conservation laws do not rule out the **native title** rights of Indigenous people to hunt in the traditional way on their land. This victory was a boost for Yanner's crusade for both land rights and the preservation of traditions for Indigenous people.

Activities

UNDERSTAND

- 1 Draw four or five simple (stick figure) sketches to clearly distinguish between the roles of 'hunter' and 'gatherer'.
- 2 (a) Refer to the map on page 6. Which two of the following four language groups were likely to have been the most nomadic — Kokatha, Umpila, Gananggalinda, Waripiri? Give reasons for your opinion.
(b) Locate the territory of the Gunditjmarra people in Victoria. Describe its approximate size and location, and explain why it might lend

itself more to a fixed settlement than, say, that of the Wawula people in Western Australia.

INVESTIGATE

Compare historical viewpoints

- 3 Write a paragraph to explain why the High Court decision of 7 October 1999 in favour of Murrandoo Yanner is significant for the rights of traditional Indigenous people.
- 4 (a) How do the opinions of Richard Broome and Dr Heather Bulth differ?
(b) Whose opinion most closely resembles the Indigenous view presented in source C? Explain why the view in source C is

consistent with that expressed in source B.

(c) What evidence do Broome and Bulth include to support their views? Does this evidence seem reliable to you? What other evidence would be needed to make each opinion a clear statement of fact?

(d) Discuss as a class the likely reaction by historians and others when new evidence is produced that contradicts a widely accepted point of view. Suggest reasons for such reactions.

checklist

I can:

- ☐ distinguish clearly between the roles of 'hunter' and 'gatherer'
- ☐ understand why Indigenous people were generally nomadic
- ☐ consider and evaluate different historical interpretations.

Figure 1: untitled⁶ (SOSE Alive History 2 2005, 10)

⁶ Captions for images are replicated from the relevant text

Another ostensibly obvious or common sense definition of images is illustrations: any feature of a text that includes a picture. On examination, however, this definition is also not as self-evident as it may seem. While drawings, photographs, paintings and (most) maps fall easily within this definition, diagrams, graphs and tables are more ambiguous. The latter three present information in a visual manner but do not necessarily use pictures. Determining when these features become pictures is a subjective judgement. Leaving aside the question of treating all images as having comparable visual impact, I was mindful of the aura of objectivity and authority that numerical values project. My assessment of images needed to be clear and consistent. Whatever decisions I made would impact my assessment of the pictorality of texts – potentially either over- or under-stating my figures. Consequently, I chose a position between either extreme – including diagrams and graphs but excluding tables. While all three reveal prioritised elements of a text which can be examined for their whiteness, I felt that including them all would overstate the pictorality of texts. Of the three, tables are the least pictorial, consisting merely of words and numbers. I rejected evaluating the pictorality of each image as too subjective; including some graphs, diagrams or tables, while excluding others, would jeopardise the consistency of my analysis.

My criteria for determining images are summarised below:

- All paintings/drawings/prints, maps, diagrams, graphs and photographs are counted. Maps, diagrams and graphs that include drawings are categorised as maps, diagrams or graphs rather than drawings. Logos and ads are categorised as drawings. Diagrams are differentiated from drawings on the basis of text – diagrams, such as flow charts, mind maps, time lines and family trees, use words to reinforce key points from the narrative in a visual way. Whereas a drawing is necessarily a picture, diagrams do not always use pictures
- Images which form part of unit activities or review questions are counted
- Counting begins from the first page of the first chapter. Because some of my texts are hardbacks without original covers, cover images are excluded, as are images in the introductory pages
- Tables are excluded
- Repetitive icons (such as the activities icons in Figure One) are excluded
- Word puzzles are excluded

- Segmented features of a text comprised solely of words are excluded. This includes headlines, newspaper extracts, letters, curriculum vitae, leaflets, pamphlets and quotes

Presentation

Table Three summarises the results of my analysis of textbook presentation. Textbooks are listed chronologically, followed by their length, use of colour, total number of images, average number of images per page and totals for each form of image: paintings/drawings/prints, maps, diagrams, graphs and photographs.

Table 3: Images in textbooks

Era	Title	Pages	Colour*	Images	I/page	P/d/p	Mps	Di	Gr	Ph
1950s	A Junior History	126	B/W	15	.1	10	3	1	1	0
	Out of the Mist	80	B/W	22	.3	0	20	2	0	0
1960s	Colony to Nation	250	B/W	40	.2	31	9	0	0	0
	Soc Studies Sec Schl	124	B/W	58	.5	19	12	2	1	24
	A Map History	60	B/W/Br	116	1.9	0	72	5	39	0
	Landmarks	241	B/W	182	.8	41	29	53	34	25
1970s	A Down Under Story	52	B/W	161	3	161	0	0	0	0
	Australia's Two Cent	157	B/W/G	93	.6	36	15	12	13	17
	Australia's Frontiers	72	Colour	101	1.4	23	60	3	9	6
	The Land They Found	261	B/W/O	257	1	152	35	1	0	69
1980s	Australia This Century	131	B/W/O	181	1.4	28	12	9	0	132
	Was It Only Yesterday	216	B/W/Br	346	1.6	86	30	42	11	177
	Their Ghosts ... Heard	237	B/W/R	311	1.3	185	49	43	1	33
1990s	Voices from the Past	250	B/W/P	319	1.3	138	35	4	2	40
	SOSE 3	144	Colour	159	1.1	113	18	2	1	25
	SOSE 4	160	Colour	179	1.1	60	18	10	18	73
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2	196	Colour	333	1.7	124	20	18	10	161
	Humanities Alive 3	100	Colour	171	1.7	82	14	5	8	62
	Humanities Alive 4	130	Colour	220	1.7	58	15	8	9	130
	Humanities 3	147	Colour	188	1.3	83	11	8	3	83
	Humanities 4	135	Colour	158	1.2	36	13	1	4	104

*Colour: B = black; W = white; Br = brown; G = green; O = orange, R = red; P = pink; Colour = full colour

Images = total number of images; I/page = average number of images per page;

P/d/p = paintings/drawings/prints; Mps = maps; Di = diagrams; Gr = graphs; Ph = photographs

Results (Presentation)

- Length (number of pages): There is no temporal pattern to the length of texts; rather, length appears to be dependent on the target audience

- Colour: Over time, texts change from black and white to three-colour (1970s and 1980s) and finally to full colour from the late 1990s
- Pictorality: Over time, the proportion of images to text increases. With the exception of texts that prioritise images (maps or cartoons) over text (*A Map History*, *A Down Under Story* and *Australia's Frontiers*), texts prior to the late 1970s have less than one image per page whereas those from the 1980s onwards have more than one image per page
- Media: There is no temporal pattern to the use of various types of images; rather, changes appear to be dependent on author discretion

Content analysis

The authoritative textbook voice positions these texts as universally relevant and immune to partisan perspectives. In contrast, Rose (2007, 7) argues that the rendering of the world through images is never innocent but constructs 'very particular visions of social categories such as class, race, sexuality and so on'. In their guidelines for assessing these dimensions of images, Fyfe and Law (1988, 1) advocate noting an image's 'principles of inclusion and exclusion ... the roles it makes available ... and ... the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises'. Fyfe and Law's guidelines dovetail neatly within the lens of critical whiteness studies, enabling me to evaluate the work textbook images perform in terms of whiteness. The questions asked in this part of the analysis are: is normative Australianness portrayed as racially inclusive or exclusive; what roles are available for Whites and non-Whites; and how are racial hierarchies and differences naturalised? Within this framework, I consider textbooks to be a particular scopic regime, intimately linked to social power relations.

Once coding categories have been developed, content analysis provides a structure for analysing large numbers of images with a degree of consistency, enabling diverse texts to be contrasted (Rose 2007, 60). Rigorous content analysis tempers researchers from unintentionally privileging data which confirm their expectations while overlooking competing data. Quantifying images allows for the 'discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on casual inspection and protection against an unconscious search ... for only those [images] which confirm one's initial sense of what the photos say or do' (Lutz & Collins 1993, 89). Nevertheless, interpretation of images is necessarily subjective, as Hall (1997, 9) cautions:

It is worth emphasising that there is no single or 'correct' answer to the question, "What does this image mean?" ... Since there is no law which can guarantee that things will have 'one, true meaning', or that meanings won't change over time, work in this area is bound to be interpretive – a debate between, not who is 'right' and who is 'wrong', but between equally plausible, though sometimes competing and contesting, meanings and interpretations.

I address these limitations to content analysis by following Rose's (2007, 61) advice to be 'as methodologically explicit as possible in order to make your own way of seeing as evident as possible'. The following section details the analytical process I followed.

Based on my theoretical conceptualisation of whiteness, I assessed each image for its potential to affirm or disrupt whiteness, in particular notions of White Australian nationhood. Coding the images was an iterative process in which I refined my conceptualisation of whiteness as I went back and forth between theoretical conceptualisations of whiteness and the images. In line with Krippendorff's (2004, 303) assertion that content analysis categories 'become apparent to the analysts in the process of reading if not actively interrogating their texts', my coding categories were developed inductively from the texts analysed. My initial categories had to be revised several times before they were applicable for the diverse texts in my sample. The basic guideline for establishing codes is that they must be exclusive, exhaustive and enlightening (Rose 2007, 65). As well as codes for 'affirming' and 'disruptive', I created a third 'ambiguous' category for those images containing both affirming and disruptive elements. A final category 'not about whiteness' ensured that my coding categories were exhaustive.

My coding categories are implicit; that is, they code for underlying meaning. Explicit coding categories, such as 'White people' or 'non-White people', would not meet my research aims. Images of both Whites and non-Whites can affirm or disrupt whiteness, depending on how these people are portrayed. Images of Whites which reinscribe White normativity affirm whiteness. Conversely, images of Whites which portray Whites as racist or ignorant disrupt whiteness. Similarly, images of non-Whites which signal difference affirm whiteness, whereas normalising images of non-Whites disrupt whiteness.

Bearing in mind Zacharias' (2004, 445) assertion that images can be decoded rapidly, classification into one of the coding categories was based on initial impressions

rather than in-depth analysis. It is worth reiterating that my categorisation is based on an image's potential to affirm or disrupt whiteness. An image's impact on individual readers may vary for those who engage with the image critically. A major limitation of content analysis is that 'it cannot discriminate between an aspect of an image that exemplifies a code perfectly, and one that is only a weak example of it' (Rose 2007, 72). Reflecting this limitation, the strength or weakness of a particular image's potential to affirm or disrupt whiteness was not considered.

A potential challenge to the validity of my categorisation of images from previous eras is Hall's (1997, 9) contention that the meanings attributed to images change over time. However I maintain that, at least within the period covered by my research, interpretations of images are largely continuous, while a far greater shift occurs in the acceptability of particular images due to changing social norms. Indeed, images are rendered unacceptable precisely because their meanings have not changed while wider social norms have, as revealed by my analysis of texts' narratives. Changes to the acceptability of images are readily observable in the omission of particular images from subsequent editions of a text as in the case of Figures Seven (page 59) and Eight (page 61).

A further argument against adjusting my reading of the images according to the era in which the text was produced is that although the way whiteness is done has shifted over the time period of my analysis (from *de jure* to *de facto* domination), White dominance nonetheless remains. Because whiteness has not been significantly disrupted, it is unlikely that an image's capacity to affirm or disrupt whiteness will vary substantially. Rather than attempting to anchor my interpretation of images according to publication date therefore, my interpretations were informed by my discourse analysis of the texts' narratives. For example, images of factories, farms or mines signal economic development in most texts and are classified as whiteness affirming. In contrast, in the Marxist cartoon history *A Down Under Story* (1976), factories and other capitalist enterprises are framed as exploitative, and therefore whiteness disturbing.

Affirming

Images which centred White perspectives or reinscribed whiteness as normative were classified as whiteness affirming, and included:

- Maps, landscapes and cityscapes reinforcing notions of *terra nullius* by depicting Australia as a White possession, such as maps showing only those parts of the Australian continent known to Europeans (see Figure Two)
- Named and unidentified Whites (unless disparaging). I refer to the disproportionate representation of Whites as White inundation. Reflecting my theoretical conceptualisation that whiteness is not about skin colour, images of people were not classified as White or non-White based on my visual impression of skin tone. Rather, I relied on how these images were represented in the texts. Demonstrating Dyer's (1997, 1) assertion that Whites tend to be seen as the human norm rather than raced, Whites in textbooks are identified as individuals (if well-known) or else by occupation. In contrast, non-Whites tend to be identified by racialised criteria: Aborigines, natives, Asiatics [sic], Kanakas [sic] or immigrants
- Signifiers of progress and modernity, including infrastructure, such as colonial buildings, weapons and machinery and economic activity, such as whaling, farming and mining
- Disparaging images of non-Whites signalling deficiency or otherness (see Figure Ten, page 65)
- Diagrams or graphs which centre White perspectives, such as timelines beginning from the European discovery of the Australian continent

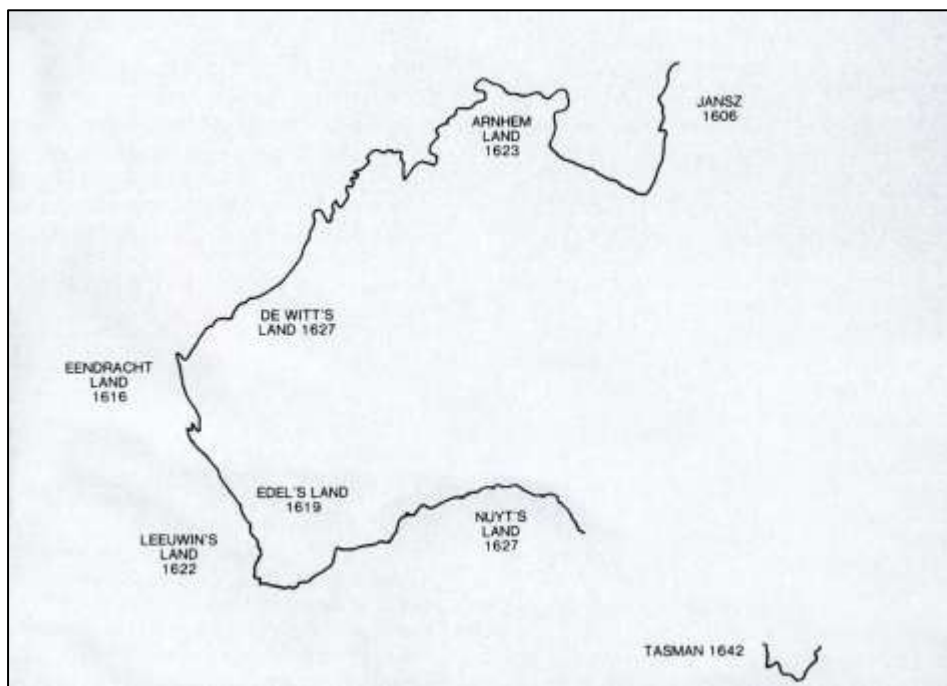


Figure 2: Dutch exploration to 1642 (*Australia's Two Centuries* 1977, 3)

Disruptive

Images which unsettled White possession, questioned White actions or challenged whiteness as normative were classified as disruptive, and included:

- Maps, landscapes and cityscapes refuting *terra nullius* or problematising colonisation
- Named and unidentified non-Whites (unless negative)
- Problems of modernity, such as corruption, poverty and warfare. Whereas credit for modernity and progress is depicted as residing in the (White) individual, problems of modernity may be attributed to external events, in which case these images are classified as 'not about whiteness'
- Whites portrayed as deficient – racist, ignorant or brutal. Although not usually attributed to race, these images disrupt notions of whiteness as unambiguously positive (see Figure Three)
- Diagrams and graphs which centre non-White perspectives



Figure 3: Mounted police and blacks (*Humanities Alive 3, Second Edition 2010, 17*)

Contradictions

My classification of images reflects the inherently contradictory nature of whiteness. One of the privileges of whiteness, outlined by Peggy McIntosh (1988) in her formative writing on the topic is that, in contrast to non-White peoples, the behaviour of White people is not taken as representative of their/our race. German aggression in the two world wars, for example, does not disrupt whiteness or lead to

negative racialised generalisations about Whites. Hence, images such as Figure Four, in which the whiteness and indeed the humanness of the 'Hun' are repudiated, are categorised as 'not about whiteness' rather than disruptive. The use of descriptors such as 'Hun' and, in World War II, 'Nazi' severs troubling bonds between Germans, or Saxons, and whiteness. In contrast, anti-Japanese propaganda is clearly racialised as shown in Figure Five.



Figure 4: The Hun, by Norman Lindsay (SOSE 4 1998, 16)

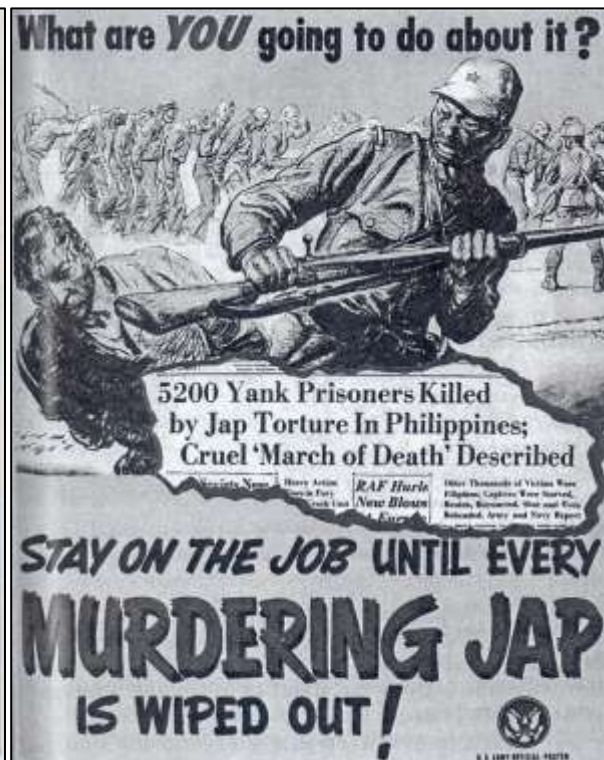


Figure 5: What are you going to do about it? (SOSE 4 1998, 95)

Poverty

A similar contradiction is evident in representations of poverty. White poverty is constructed as race-neutral and structural whereas Aboriginal poverty is racialised so that whiteness is affirmed in both cases, as can be seen by comparing Figures Six and Seven. Figure Six shows a (non-racialised) White woman 'despairing' due to poverty in the Depression era. This caption for this image centres the woman's suffering, thereby affirming whiteness. Despite the fact that Aborigines were often the first to lose employment during the Depression (Haebich 1988), this text omits any mention of Aboriginal suffering during this era. The image of Aboriginal poverty shown in Figure Seven is from a chapter on Aborigines in a different text. Segregating Aborigines in separate chapters augments the contrast between Whites

as universal subjects and Aborigines as a racialised group. I refer to this practice as siloing (see page 69).



Figure 6: "It was tremendously hard on my mother." How did the Depression bring women like this to the point of despair? (*Was It Only Yesterday* 1983, 80)



Figure 7: What indications are there of poverty? Why do some Aborigines live under these conditions? What evidence is there of contact with the white man? (*Landmarks* 1969, 167)

In contrast to the construction of White poverty as blameless in Figure Six, Figure Seven depicts poverty as symptomatic of Aboriginality (Walter 2009), which functions to affirm whiteness by comparison. Whereas the caption for Figure Six encourages empathy, the caption for Figure Seven positions Aborigines as objects of the White gaze. In this instance, poverty is racialised and empathy precluded by coaching the student reader in the White practice of paternalistically commenting on the racialised other. Referring to immigration debates, Hage (1998, 241) refers to this practice as a 'ritual of White empowerment' which position Whites as 'worried national managers' (1998, 244). Whites are constructed as authorities on complex issues that challenge even the most accomplished researchers. The language used in these rituals of White empowerment operates as a 'technology of problematisation and marginalisation' (1998, 242). The omission of this image from the third (1987) edition of this text suggests recognition of its problematic nature (see pages 99-100 for a discussion of the amendments to images in the third edition of this text).

Contradictions in the portrayals of Whites and non-Whites reflect Whites' privileged position to frame racialised groups as other or deficient, while positioning them/ourselves as non-raced and entitled. As Yancy (2004b, 16) asserts, whiteness enjoys 'the power to represent, to engage in the representation and objectification of the Other'. The capacity to set the terms of discourse results in further contradictions where identical behaviour by Whites and non-Whites is framed in contrasting ways. This can be seen in the contrasting portrayal of alcohol consumption by Whites and Aborigines.

Alcohol

In most texts prior to the 1970s Aborigines are largely absent. With the exception of *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* (1963, 54), Aboriginal alcohol consumption is ignored in these texts. Once chapters on Aborigines were introduced however, tropes linking Aborigines and alcohol consumption were often reproduced (*Australia's Two Centuries* 1977, 24; *Was It Only Yesterday* 1983, 187; *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* 1984, 158-171; *Voices From The Past* 1994, 137; *SOSE 3* 1998, 60; *SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 16; see also Figure Eighteen, page 94). Even when these texts endeavour to explain alcohol consumption as a response to White invasion and its ongoing effects, links between Aborigines and alcohol are nevertheless reinscribed and problematised. For example, whereas earlier editions of *Landmarks* began with White discovery and settlement largely omitting Aborigines, the third edition begins

with a chapter on Aborigines in which, seemingly inevitably, alcohol consumption is mentioned:

An excessive use of alcohol remains a particular problem for many blacks, and deserves to be understood in a sensible way: both as a disease, and as a symptom of the treatment given to black society since the arrival of white people
Landmarks, Third Edition 1987, 13

This extract reinscribes the common idea that ‘alcohol remains a particular problem’ for Aborigines, regardless of its attempts at explanation. This idea evokes the trope of Aborigines as biologically deficient and unable to cope with ‘civilisation’. This extract evidences a trend in texts from the 1980s onwards in which White authors explicitly attempt not to be racist or disparaging, but derision remains implicit in the text. Not only are Aborigines and alcohol consumption problematically linked, Whites are referred to as ‘white people’ whereas Aborigines are referred to simply as ‘blacks’. Similarly, *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1984, 169) notes that ‘[s]ome Aborigines became dependent on alcohol. This helped to destroy their traditional society’. Although the word ‘some’ indicates that not all Aborigines are implicated, the phrase nevertheless links Aborigines with problematic use of alcohol. Moreover, Aboriginal alcohol consumption is mentioned ten times in this chapter on Aborigines, rendering the impact of the adjective ‘some’ in the above extract negligible.

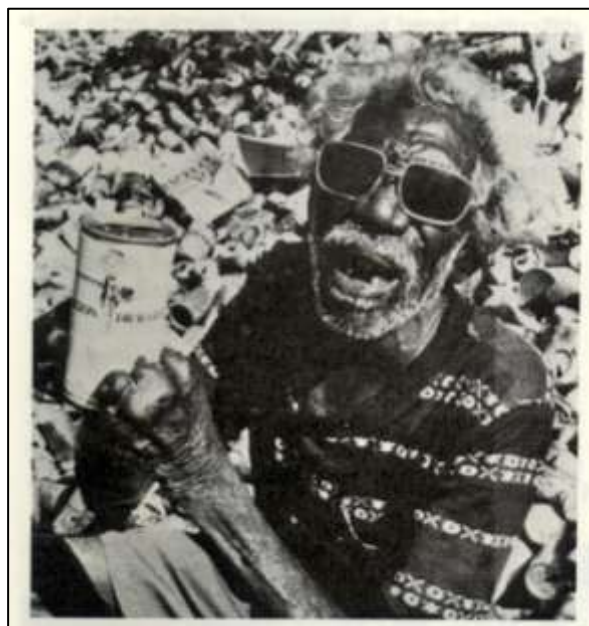


Figure 8: Alcohol is a serious problem for many Aboriginal people, just as it is for many white people. Can you suggest why many Aboriginals [sic] depend on alcohol? (*Was It Only Yesterday* 1983, 187)

The companion text to *Their Ghosts May be Heard*, by the same authors, *Was It Only Yesterday* (1983, 187) also portrays Aboriginal alcohol use as problematic as Figure Eight demonstrates. The caption underneath this image again invites the student reader to participate in a 'ritual of White empowerment' (Hage 1998, 241), thereby positioning Aborigines as other to White 'national managers' (1998, 244). This photograph, which demonstrates how Aborigines are subjected to the White gaze, serves no function other than to reproduce tropes of alcohol as problematic for Aborigines. Its omission from the third (1996) edition of this text hints at some recognition of the negative repercussions from its inclusion.



Figure 9: Why would some people regard this as a typical Australian scene in the 1890s? What evidence is there that the men were bush workers? What was the place of women in the outback? (*Landmarks* 1969, 115)

In contrast, rather than being problematised White alcohol consumption is framed as a beguiling characteristic of Australian larrikinism (Ward 1966, 16). Even the development of a rum economy in the early days of White colonisation fails to disrupt whiteness. In spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary (Hughes 2003, 290-1), Whites are not constructed as having a problematic relationship with alcohol. Apart from sections dealing with the Rum Corps which are omitted from texts published from the 1980s onwards, use of alcohol by Whites is typically mentioned in chapters about Australian national identity, frequently illustrated with Calvert's (1882) wood engraving 'Knocking down his cheque' (see Figure Nine) which depicts White male workers spending their wages on alcohol consumption (see also

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 95; *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* 1984, 150; *SOSE 3* 1998, 127). This image functions to constitute alcohol consumption as a core feature of (White) Australianness. Indeed, as the diagram in Figure Twenty-Six (page 206) shows, *Landmarks* lists drinking as one of only three quintessentially (White) Australian qualities. Because of their contradictory portrayal, images of both White and Aboriginal alcohol consumption function to affirm whiteness.

Results (Content analysis)

For each text, totals for each category – affirming, disturbing, ambiguous and ‘not about whiteness’ (NAW) – were calculated. These totals are given as percentages because the raw numbers vary drastically, making meaningful comparison impossible. Due to the subjectivity inherent in categorisation, I consider these calculations to be indicative of broad patterns with the figures themselves devoid of inherent meaning.

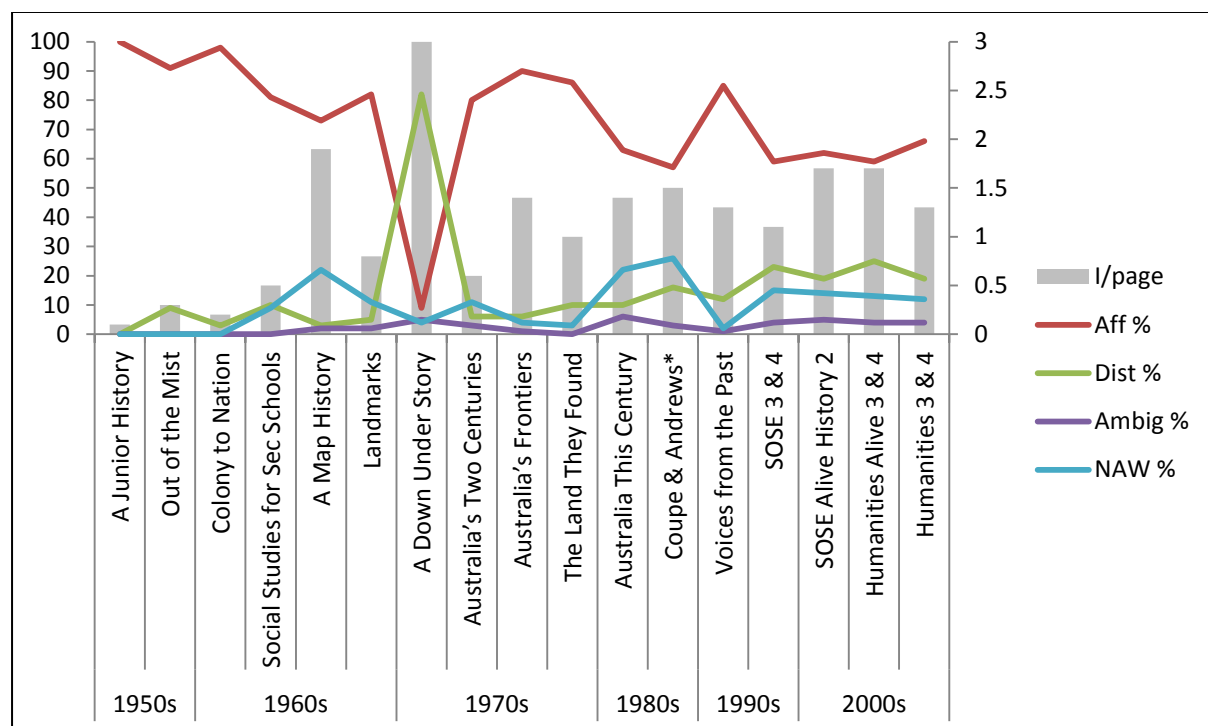


Chart 1: Content analysis results

*Coupe & Andrews are the authors of the two-book set *Their Ghosts May be Heard* and *Was It Only Yesterday*

Content analysis results for individual texts or sets are shown in Chart One. In order to facilitate comparison with texts that cover the entire period of Australian history, results for texts which form part of a set are shown as set averages. The bar chart in the background of Chart One shows images per page, measured on the right vertical

axis. It shows that texts have become more pictorial over time. The two outliers are pictorial texts – *A Map History* and the cartoon history *A Down Under Story*. The left vertical axis shows the proportion of images for affirming, disruptive, ambiguous and not about whiteness. The red line shows the proportion of affirming images. Leaving aside the outlier *A Down Under Story*, this line shows that the proportion of affirming images fluctuated until reaching a low point in the 1980s after which, with the exception of *Voices from the Past*, it remained fairly stable. The green line shows the proportion of disruptive images. Once again the disparate presentation of *A Down Under Story* is demonstrated. Ignoring this outlier, this line shows that the proportion of disruptive images has risen over time. I elaborate on potential reasons for the atypical results of particular texts in the discussion section of this chapter.

Table Four shows the average results for each decade in my sample. This table reiterates the results shown in Chart One: up to and including the 1980s, the proportion of images which affirm whiteness decreases. This figure increases in the 1990s before falling again almost to the 1980s level in the 2000s. With the exception of the 1960s, the proportion of disruptive images increases over every decade in my sample.

Table 4: Decade averages

Decade	Colour	Images/page	%Affirming	%Disruptive	%Ambiguous	%NAW
1950s	B/W	.2	96	5	0	0
1960s	B/W	.85	84	5	1	11
1970s *	Tri-colour	1	85	8	1	6
1980s	Tri-colour	1.4	59	14	4	24
1990s	Colour	1.2	67	19	3	11
2000s	Colour	1.6	62	21	4	13

*Because its results are atypical (see Chart One), *A Down Under Story* was omitted when calculating averages for the 1970s

Structure

Whereas my content analysis of textbook images assesses the images present in the texts, my examination of textbook structure provides a context for content analysis results by identifying changes to textbooks' overall content. I discuss the structure of texts in the following discussion section, focusing on changes such as the relative proportion of content covering the pre- and post-1900 eras, the omission of

particular topics over time and the relative integration or siloing of White and non-White topics.

Discussion

In this section, I introduce the texts in my sample chronologically, outline their presentation and structure, and comment on their use of images.

1950s

My 1950s texts – one history text and one social studies set – have divergent structures. *A Junior History* consists of twenty-two chapters arranged in loose chronological order beginning with European exploration. Perhaps due to the extend periods of time covered by social studies texts – from pre-Industrial Europe to the present – these texts are structured thematically rather than chronologically. My analysis of the social studies set *Out of the Mist* comprised the following: a segment on Tasmanian Aborigines from section (A) and all of section (C) except one geography chapter from *Book One*; all of section (A) except one geography chapter from *Book Two*. I also analysed the narrative in segments on the White Australia Policy and nationhood from *Book Four*. Both the history and the social studies set are small, black and white extended narratives centred on progress. An overwhelming 96 per cent of the relatively few images in these texts function to affirm whiteness and construct Australian society as almost exclusively White.

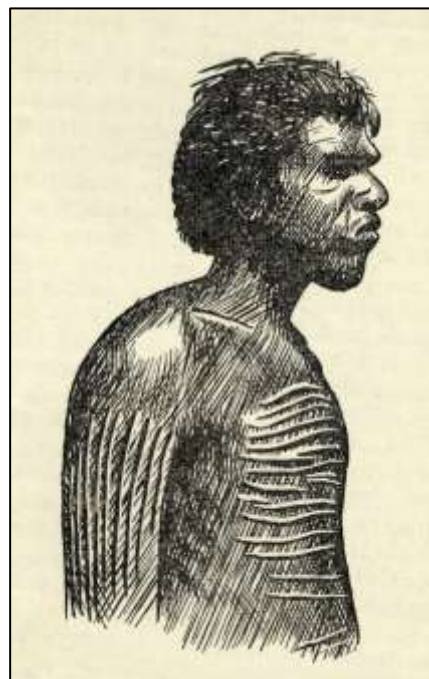


Figure 10: One of Dampier's miserablest people
(*A Junior History* 1950, 16)

Meston's (1950) *A Junior History of Australia, Second Edition* consists of twenty-two chapters beginning with 'Portuguese, Spaniards and the Great South Land'. It is the smallest text in my sample (less than A5), with relatively few images (on average one every eight pages) and no activities or exercises. All fifteen images are black and white line drawings, and all affirm whiteness. Six of these images name White males, with 10 White males identified overall. There are no images of women. Two images portray non-Whites: firstly, a disparaging image of an Aboriginal man (see Figure Ten) and secondly, in a section justifying the White Australia Policy, an outline of mainland Australia filled by the words 'no admittance', with an Asian, 'Hindoo' and 'Kanakan' outside the landmass (see Figure Thirty-Three, page 237). Although both these images portray non-Whites, their emphasis on difference ensures that whiteness is affirmed rather than disturbed.

Approaching A5 size, Williams' *Out of the Mist, Book One, Fourth Edition* (1952) and *Book Two, Fourth Edition* (1956), have, on average, one simple line drawing every four pages. The sections I analysed contained 22 images in total, of which 16 were maps and two landscapes, all of which were portrayed as White possessions. I categorised two (9 per cent) of the images as disruptive – anthropological-style depictions of Aboriginality in each book (*Book One* 1952, 6; *Book Two* 1956, 13). Although both images position Aborigines as objects of the White gaze inhabiting a past era, they are not overtly disparaging. Moreover, both images hint at the prior occupation of the Australian landmass. Hence they are categorised as disruptive. In *Book Four* (1956, v) of the series, Williams explains his use of minimal images:

No attempt has been made to use pictures as pictures, all the illustrations being chosen with one of two aims, namely, either to make the theme clearer to pupils or to expand some point in the text.

In contrast to texts from later decades, it seems Williams considers illustrations to be superfluous. This extract may also illustrate an attempt to increase the status of the texts by framing them as sombre.

1960s

Images affirming whiteness remained disproportionally high (85 per cent) in the 1960s. In comparison to the 1950s, texts from this decade had larger page sizes, incorporated photographs and reproductions of paintings and prints and included

activities and exercises. Texts from the latter half of the decade showed a marked increase in the average number of images per page (see Table Three, page 52).

Dunlop and Pike's (1960) *Australia: Colony to Nation* is a similar size (A5) and length to books in the *Out of the Mist* series. The style of drawings in *Out of the Mist* is also replicated in this texts' use of black and white line drawings. There are 40 images in total, an average of one every 6 pages. The text is structured as an extended narrative, with chapters arranged chronologically, beginning with 'The days before history'. On average, three exercises are located at the chapter endings. With the exception of one image, the seemingly obligatory anthropological-style image of Aborigines in the 'prehistoric' chapter (1960, 6), all images affirm whiteness. The whiteness of the images is evident in the items and people portrayed. Markers of White technological and economic 'progress' constitute 21 images – just over half of the total images. White people also dominate. This is the earliest of many texts in my sample to include images of generic Whites – in this case male convicts, miners, bushrangers and voters.

Nine maps function to demonstrate the extent of White knowledge/ownership of the Australian landmass, from early European sailors' mapping of the coastline to the 'filling-in' of this outline by White colonists and inland 'explorers' (see Figure Eleven).⁷ In contrast to the serious tone of the book's text, its maps evidence a light-hearted, picture book quality. This is achieved by including non-essential people and objects. For example, as well as the paths followed by early British 'explorers', drawings of the 'explorers' and their equipment are included, as are solitary birds, mammals, sea life, ships and, on one occasion, a mermaid. In addition, while largely absent from the text's narrative, Aborigines are depicted in four of the maps with an aboriginal shelter in a fifth. When present, Aborigines are positioned in remote locations, separate from White 'explorers'. The drawings of people are often fully shaded so that both White 'explorers' and Aborigines appear totally black, with clothing, or lack of it, and paraphernalia used to differentiate between the two. Whiteness is signalled by clothes (particularly hats) and equipment such as horses, tents, packs and maps. In contrast, Aboriginality is signalled by nakedness and hunting equipment, usually spears. These contrasts function to relegate Aborigines to the pre-modern era, while whiteness is linked with progress and endeavour. Portraying White 'explorers' as working alone, unaided by Aboriginal guides, also obfuscates the reliance of Whites on Aborigines to reveal travelling routes and

⁷ See page 132 for an explanation of my refusal to uncritically reproduce this term

sources of food and water and to negotiate safe passage with other Aboriginal groups (Langton 2008, xxvi; Reynolds 2000; Wolfe 1991, 100).

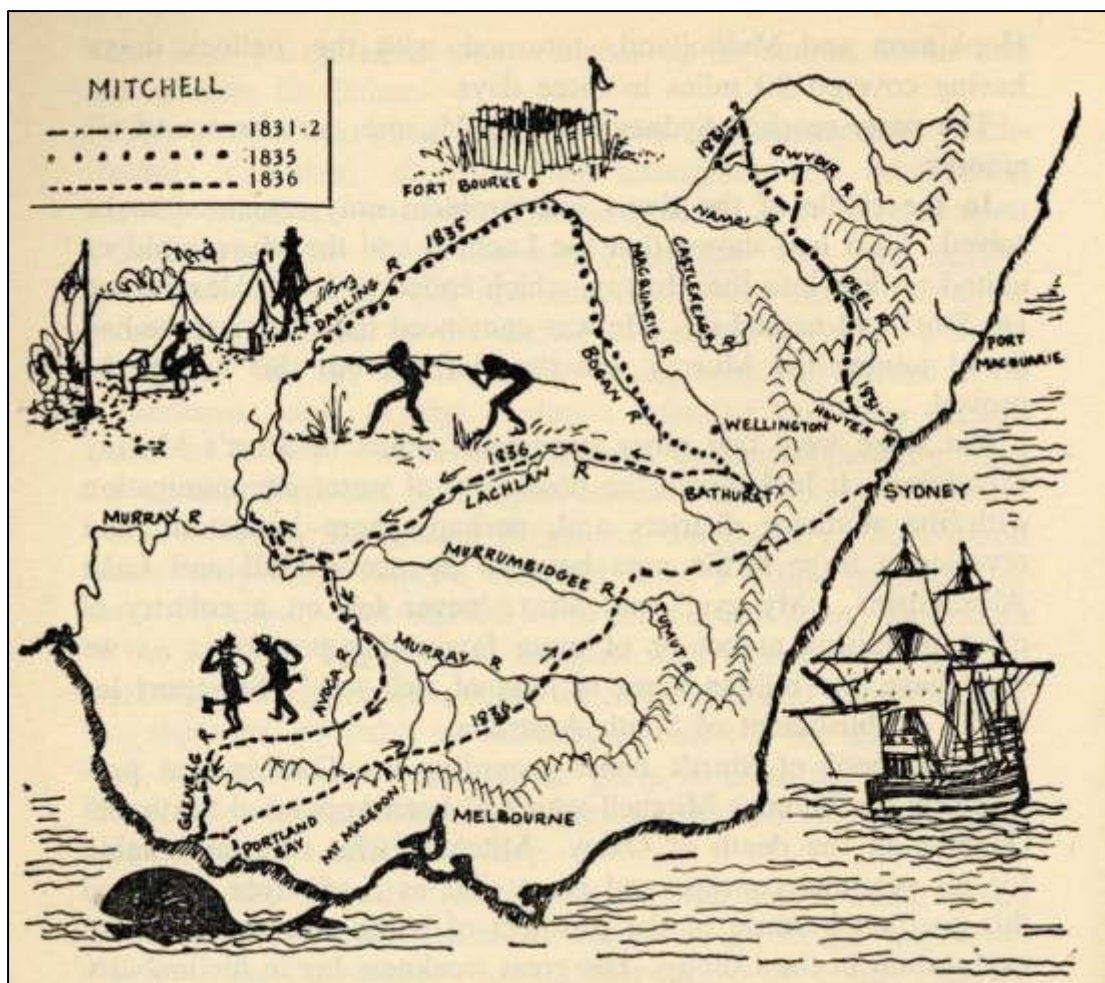


Figure 11: untitled (*Colony to Nation* 1960, 68)

Positioning Aborigines as prehistoric, whether through the text's structure or images, functions to segregate Aborigines from normative Australianness. This is the only 1960s text in my sample to incorporate an initial chapter on pre-colonial Aboriginal life. Nevertheless, subsequent to this chapter, the text reverts to customary disregard; Aborigines are largely absent from the remainder of the text. The format of including an initial chapter on Aborigines but then reverting to the standard (White) historical narrative is a common feature in post-1960s Australian history/SOSE/Humanities texts. Foster (1999, 264) labels the inclusion of new material while leaving the original content and organising framework unaltered the 'mentioning' approach to diversity. Because 'mentioning' could also refer to the sporadic inclusion of Aborigines throughout the text, as incidental encumbrances or assistants to Whites for example, I refer to the segregation of Aborigines (and other non-Whites) in specific chapters as siloing.

The use of siloing is complex. On the one hand, dedicating chapters to Aborigines reflects a well-intentioned response to Stanner's (1979, 202) observation that, in Australian history texts, Aborigines were positioned as 'a codicil to the Australian story'. In comparison to texts in which Aborigines are even less visible, these chapters signal a tentative step towards inclusivity. In contrast to texts which frame Australian history as beginning with European exploration and 'discovery', those that include an initial chapter positioning Aborigines as 'First Australians' unsettle celebratory White histories centred on *terra nullius*. Although these chapters could be improved, by not framing Aborigines as exclusively inhabiting the past for example, I contend that they are essential for an accurate and inclusive portrayal of Australian history. However, confining Aborigines to 'Aboriginal' sections of the text functions to position Aborigines as other to normative White Australianness and separate to White Australian history, obscuring Aboriginal contributions to the development and defence of the nation and disregarding Aboriginal experiences during various eras such as the gold rush and the Depression. Siloing constructs Aborigines and other non-Whites as marginal and irrelevant to the overall narrative, so that, as Stanner (1979, 212) argues, the siloed chapter could be 'snipped out' with only minimal change to the remaining narrative. This approach, which explicitly teaches about the other, is arguably an improvement on texts which construct Australia as more or less entirely White. Nevertheless, it implicitly teaches students to distinguish between White Australians and non-White others and to disregard non-Whites as active participants in the nation. Moreover, the initial, pre-colonial chapters locate Aborigines in the past. This functions to construct the 'noble savage' image of Aboriginality as authentic while leaving contemporary Aboriginality anomalous. While I note the potential impact of siloing and racialisation, for the purposes of my content analysis these practices are not considered. For example, non-disparaging images of non-Whites are classified as disruptive regardless of siloing or racialisation. This decision exposes the inability of content analysis to distinguish between weak and strong occurrences of a code.

Brown and Hunt's *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* (SSSS) consists of two books which are small (A5) and, while still black and white, incorporate an image every two pages, on average. Narratives remain extended, with exercises located at the end of each chapter. As with the other social studies set in my sample, both books are structured thematically rather than chronologically. My analysis comprised the following sections: seven pages from *Book One* (1962) on 'Australian Aborigines' and Chapters 1-3, 5-11, 14, 15, 17 and 23 from *Book Two* (1963). The sections I analysed

had 58 images in total, of which 47 (81 per cent) were whiteness affirming, with 21 images signifying (White) technological and economic 'progress' and 14 positioning Australia as a White possession.



Figure 12: (Left) This aboriginal [sic] hunter has made little or no contact with the white man. Note his weapons and the creatures he has killed for food. (Right) Classwork in progress at a special school for aboriginal children in the Northern Territory. Such schools play an important part in the assimilation of the aborigines (SSSS, *Book Two* 1963, 53)

These are the first texts in my sample to include photographs and reproductions of paintings and drawings. Whereas the line drawings in earlier texts in my sample represented illustrators' conceptions of Aborigines as exclusively pre-modern, the use of photographs in this and subsequent texts challenges that conception somewhat. There were five photographs of Aborigines which I categorised as disruptive. However, the disruptive potential of these photographs was minimised due to their positioning in sections on Aborigines. Siloing and racialising the photographs ensures they portray Aboriginality rather than Australianness. Subject to the White gaze, difference is created between the 'us' – normative White Australians – and 'them'. Three of the photographs depict putatively traditional Aborigines (*Book One* 1962, 80; *Book Two* 1963, 53, 55), one of which is shown in Figure Twelve. The caption accompanying this image frames the hunter as 'traditional', even suggesting 'little or no contact with the white man'. The use of the term 'creatures' to refer to the animals caught augments this construction. The remaining two photographs show contemporary people (*Book Two* 1963, 53, 57).

Nevertheless, the captions accompanying the latter images emphasise 'the assimilation of the aborigines [sic]' (1963, 53), thereby reinscribing the self-evident normativity of whiteness.

Wynd and Wood's (1963) *A Map History of Australia* deviates from the standard design of history texts. This text consists of 60 almost A4 pages, each of which is dominated by a map or, in the latter half of the book, a graph or combined map/graph. In each case, the image occupies approximately two-thirds of the page with brief text related to the image underneath. There are no student activities or exercises. Although this is one of three texts in my sample that I classify as 'pictorial', there are no images of people or markers of whiteness apart from the maps and graphs. In addition to being structured chronologically, the chapters are segregated into six sections: Discovering Australia, Opening Up Australia, Developing Australia, Populating Australia, Governing Australia and Australia Overseas. Although these section headings appear race-neutral, their reference to White history is implicitly understood. White solipsism renders the word 'White' superfluous, so that it can be omitted without any misunderstanding. Segregating texts into different sections is frequent but not ubiquitous in subsequent texts in my sample.

A Map History is a celebratory narrative of the White 'discovery', 'opening up' and (economic) development of Australia, with 73 per cent of images categorised as whiteness affirming and 3 per cent disruptive. White solipsism is again evident. For example, the second unit 'Opening up Australia' consists of twenty maps outlining the continuing incursion of Whites into Aboriginal land. Instead of being framed as an invasion however, White encroachment is framed innocuously as 'opening up' the land (for Whites). White ignorance is augmented by the silence surrounding the dispossession of Aborigines; none of the twenty maps in this unit discusses Aboriginal land use or the subsequent impact of dispossession. Instead, they affirm White possession. This theme is elaborated in Chapter Six.

Only two images were categorised as disruptive of whiteness. Firstly, Map 39 'The Aborigines' which shows the location of Aboriginal population centres. There is no corresponding map for any other racialised group. Although written from the perspective of the White expert commenting on the other, thereby constructing Aborigines as objects rather than subjects of the nation, this map nevertheless belatedly acknowledges Aboriginal presence in Australia. Secondly, Map 43 'White Australia', which consists of two maps and one graph. The graph shows Chinese and

'Kanakan' population levels in Australia. The accompanying text also acknowledges Chinese presence in Australia from 1848 and Pacific Islanders from 1863. Moreover, the accompanying text credits Pacific Islander labour as crucial in establishing the sugar industry in North Queensland. This map is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven (see page 238-239). Although I categorised these images as disruptive, their potential to disrupt whiteness is, arguably, minimal; acknowledging non-White presence is unlikely to disrupt White possession.

Blackmore, Elliott and Cotter's (1969) *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* continues the temporal pattern of textbooks becoming larger and more pictorial. This black and white text approaches A4 size and has, on average, one image every page and a half. Compared to previous texts, the end-of-chapter review questions in *Landmarks* are more extensive. The text follows a chronological format with chapters organised into five units: Footholds, Colonial Australia, Australians All, Building a Nation and Modern Australia. As well as photographs and reproductions of paintings, drawings and historical documents, *Landmarks* includes 53 diagrams to emphasise key aspects of the narrative (see Figure Twenty-Six, page 206). The use of diagrams to clarify and repeat information in the text suggests movement along the spectrum towards educators being increasingly responsible for student learning. Only two of these diagrams were categorised as disruptive. Firstly, a diagram highlighting obstacles faced by Aborigines, such as lower wages, the often seasonal nature of employment and poor housing (1969, 168). However, the use of a black-and-white minstrel style, which is synonymous with mockery and distortion (Lensmire & Snaza 2010, 414), to portray the Aboriginal fruit picker in this diagram limits its disruptive potential. (This diagram is omitted from the third (1987) edition of this text.) The second disruptive diagram highlights the contribution of immigrants to Australia's development (1969, 200). As usual, references to Aboriginal contributions are absent. Yet, as Wolfe (1991, 100) states, 'settler-colonisation relied upon Aboriginal labour at every stage and in every site of its development' (see also Reynolds 2000). Overall, 82 per cent of the images in *Landmarks* are classified as affirming, with industrial progress and economic activity – farming, mining, transport and manufacturing – featuring strongly. Ten images (5 per cent) are classified as disruptive. The siloing of non-Whites within texts is again demonstrated with half of the disruptive images located in Chapter 15 'Australian Attitudes'. This chapter includes sections on 'The Aborigines', 'The White Australia Policy' and 'Education'. Being positioned as objects of White Australian opinion, Aborigines are excluded from the category 'Australian'. This problem is addressed

in the third (1987) edition of *Landmarks* by labelling these attitudes as White, thereby racialising whites. The third edition also includes other alterations to its portrayal of Aborigines (see pages 99-100, 152).

1970s

In this decade, the page size of textbooks became larger again, and colour was used more frequently, with most texts using three colours and one including full-colour plates. The average number of images per page increased to 1, yet the proportion of affirming images (85 per cent) replicated the 1960s. Chapters devoted to 'Australia at war' appeared in textbooks for the first time in this decade and the siloing of Aborigines in an initial chapter became standard. A second edition of *Landmarks* (1977) and a third edition of *Map History* (1978) were published in the 1970s. These new editions are largely unchanged from their 1960s forms and are omitted from my analysis for the 1970s. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the ideas promulgated in these texts as noted above are also applicable to the 1970s.

Short, White and Tsounis' (1976) *A Down Under Story of Australia* is a black and white, cartoon history consisting of 52 A4 pages, structured as a continuous narrative with no subheadings or chapters. Arguably, the images in this text are more influential than in standard texts because rather than merely illustrating key aspects of the narrative, they largely constitute the narrative. Unsurprisingly, this is the most pictorial text in my sample. As with other pictorial texts, *A Down Under Story* has no student activities or exercises. The text is openly Marxist and inimical to powerful and wealthy elites: capitalists, squatters, politicians and authority figures such as magistrates and police officers.

Deliberate use of artistic devices is used to show how society is structured to unfairly privilege elites. The exploitation of the working class by elites is signalled by thought bubbles which reveal the self-interest of elites. Elites are portrayed as cigar-smoking, overweight and lazy, often shown in a resting posture, at times being carried by workers and at other times asleep. In contrast, workers are depicted as lean and often sweating to signal the strain of carrying elites – which they are portrayed as doing literally as well as figuratively. In addition to their portrayal as overweight, police officers are often accompanied by bags of money labelled 'bribes' and are shown to be controlled by powerful capitalists (see Figure Thirteen). The facial features of magistrates are depicted as grossly oversize to demonstrate their power. Consequently, the images in *A Down Under Story* are often unambiguously

disruptive of whiteness, even when the narrative is more balanced. Ambiguous images are restricted to those that portray elites as corrupt and exploitative while simultaneously positioning working class Whites favourably.

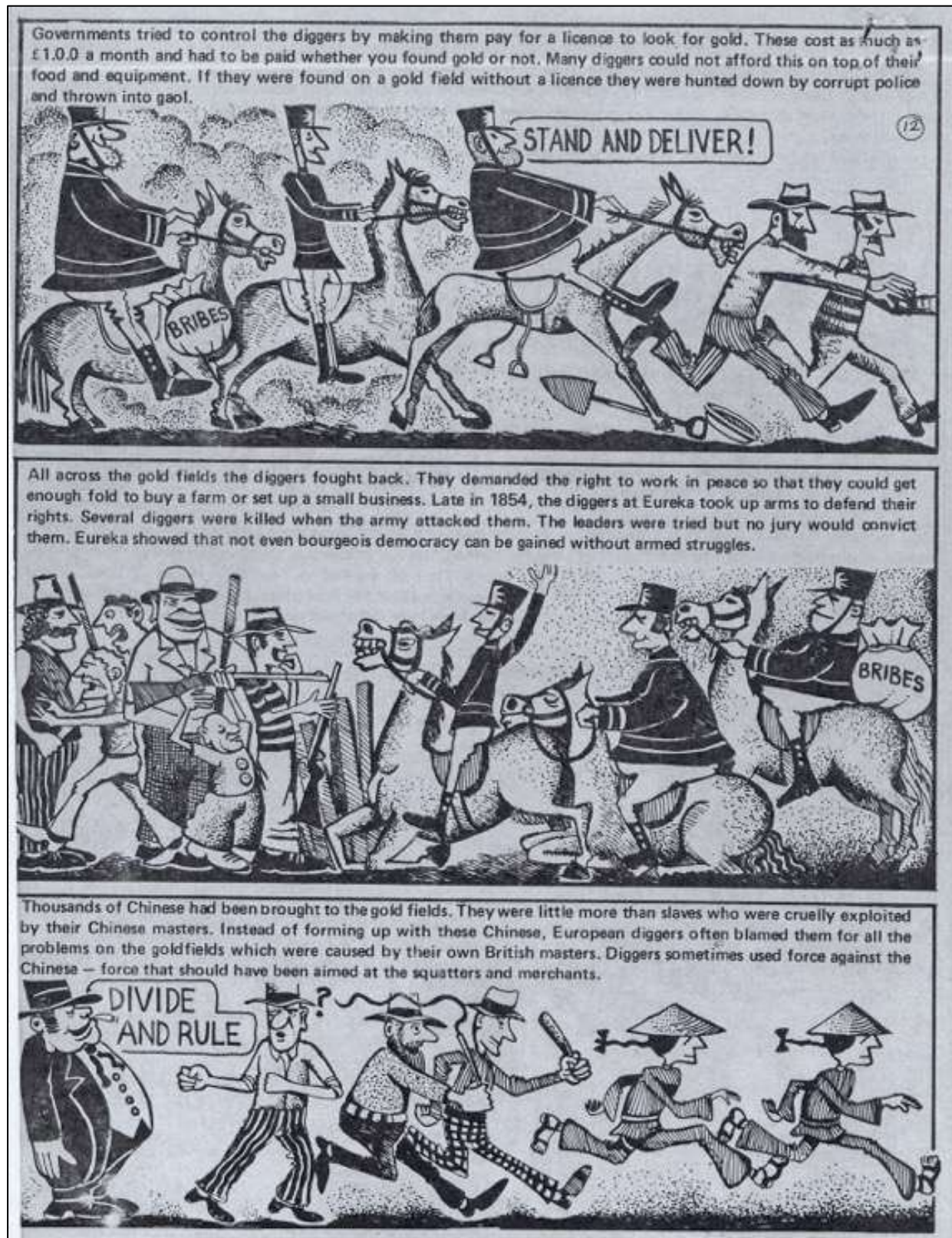


Figure 13: untitled (*A Down Under Story* 1976, 12)

Due to its critical stance, the disturbing images (82 per cent) in *A Down Under Story* outnumber affirming ones (9 per cent). These figures contrast strikingly with the results of every other text in my sample, all of which have a higher proportion of affirming than disturbing images. Reflecting the text's Marxist framework however, race tends to be subsumed within classed social divisions (Mills 2003, 27), so that 76 per cent of the disruptive images are class-based while only 22 per cent are race-based, with gender constituting the residual two per cent. The text is hostile to elite Whites, but nevertheless centres the experiences of working class Whites. I refer to the practice of disproportionately representing Whites as White inundation. On the other hand, the text's predominantly pro-White working class stance is interrupted by noting the failure of these Whites to unite along class lines due to racism, as shown in the bottom frame of Figure Thirteen.

A Down Under Story is also distinct from the remainder of this era's texts in its anti-racist portrayal of non-White possession and agency and White deficiency. The first page, for example, shows Aborigines defending their land from Cook, while the British are depicted as savage for decapitating Pelmulwoy [sic] and sending his head to London (see Figure Twenty-Four, page 154). This is the first text in my sample to unambiguously frame Aborigines as warriors defending their land from White invasion. In order to highlight White brutality, however, Aborigines are also shown in chains, being shot and 'jailed' on reserves. Implicit constructions of otherness undermine these explicit attempts at anti-racism. For example, Aborigines are consistently portrayed as pre-modern – spears are ubiquitous while clothing or other signifiers of modernity are absent, thereby reinscribing otherness.

In 1977, Blackmore, Cotter and Elliott published their second edition of *Landmarks* as well as a new text – *Australia's Two Centuries: A survey of Australian history*. The differences between these texts are noteworthy. In their introduction to *Australia's Two Centuries*, the authors note the 'literacy problem' and declare their consequent decision to write an easily readable text that 'will catch and hold the interest of young people' (1977, vii). These decisions are reflected in the length of *Australia's Two Centuries*, which is almost 100 pages less than *Landmarks*, with ten chapters in contrast to *Landmarks'* nineteen. The structure of *Australia's Two Centuries* is also markedly different to *Landmarks*. Instead of the standard extended narrative format composed of declarative assertions, the content of *Australia's Two Centuries* is segmented into discrete sections, no longer than a paragraph, followed by questions which guide the reader to evaluate the information. In contrast to every other text in

my sample, student learning is predominately based on thinking through the information for themselves rather than being instructed by the authorial voice. Minimisation of the authorial voice is also evident in the presentation of competing viewpoints, with readers left to determine their own opinion. In addition to short narratives, the information presented is conveyed through imaginary conversations or derived from primary sources, but 're-written in simple English' (1977, 22). This is the only 1970s text in my sample which uses primary sources as an alternative or addition to authorial narratives.

At times the content of *Australia's Two Centuries* also deviates quite radically from *Landmarks*. Whereas *Landmarks* adheres to the standard historical approach, *Australia's Two Centuries* duplicates *A Down Under Story's* pre-empting of textbook norms for subsequent decades, including content on pre-colonial (1977, 2) and contemporary (1977, 144-6) Aboriginal life, as well as convict women (1977, 12-13) and the gendered nature of paid employment (1977, 146-7). From the 1980s onwards, these latter inclusions became routine, often through the inclusion of a separate chapter dealing with White female, non-White migrant and current Aboriginal issues; in other words, anything other than the unmarked White male norm.

In contrast to its textual format, the visual style of *Australia's Two Centuries* is not dissimilar to *Landmarks*. The texts are similar sizes with comparable numbers of images per page as well as almost identical proportions of affirming and disturbing images. While there is an undeniable attempt to incorporate diverse perspectives in *Australia's Two Centuries*, its title reveals that White solipsism nevertheless prevails. Siloing is evident in the commentary on Aborigines on the first two pages (see page 176), followed by framing Australia as *terra nullius* as demonstrated in Figure Two (see page 56). The bulk of the text focuses on White Australia.

Grigsby and Gurry's (1979) *Australia's Frontiers: An atlas of Australian history* is the final pictorial text in my sample. As with the other pictorial texts it has no student activities or exercises. *Australia's Frontiers* is fairly short (72 pages) but has the largest page size (A4) of the textbooks so far. It is comprised of seven units structured chronologically: The New Land, The States Begin, Exploring the New Land, Working the New Land, The States Grow, Australia and the World, and Australia Today. The emphasis on the 'new land' in these unit titles evidence an exclusively White perspective. Black and green print is used for the bulk of the book, supplemented by six full-page colour plates.

Although pictorially based, *Australia's Frontiers* has fewer images per page than some conventionally styled texts from the 1980s and 2000s. It is comprised of extended narratives with an average of three images every double page. In contrast to standard histories, maps are privileged over other images with maps signalling White possession constituting 57 of the text's 101 images. Whereas most texts illustrate industries such as whaling, sealing, wool, gold and agriculture with images of people and equipment, *Australia's Frontiers* uses maps instead, showing where these industries are located. Similarly, the topic 'Aborigines today' is accompanied by a map of Australia showing the distribution of Aborigines rather than any images of people. Images of people are also minimised in paintings and drawings with landscapes or towns (as White possessions) featured instead. Siloing is also predominant with an initial chapter on Aboriginal life prior to White colonisation followed by a return to the standard story of White 'discovery', 'exploration' and development (see page 178 for further information about siloing).

Laidlaw's (1979) *The Land They Found: Australian history for secondary schools* is a standard narrative-style history text. Review questions and extension exercises are located at the end of each chapter. With 25 chapters covering 261 pages it is by far the longest text for this era in my sample. Averaging one image per page, no double page is without at least one illustration. Particularly striking in this text is White inundation. One quarter of the images identify White men – explorers, governors, politicians and others such as William Buckley, Peter Lalor, Henry Lawson, Charles Kingsford-Smith and Hitler, while a further 15 per cent depict unidentified Whites. In contrast, only three non-Whites are identified (while also being racialised): Probasso, 'a Malaya chief' (1979, 13), Boom-Bul-Wa & Quar-Tan-Grook 'two aborigines of the Port Phillip District' (1979, 138) and 'Japanese Foreign Minister [in 1945]' Mamoru Shigemotsu (1979, 254). Indeed, non-Whites are represented in only 5 per cent of the images. Clearly White men are positioned as the leading actors in Australian history. Siloing is again pronounced. Despite an initial two chapters on Aboriginal Australia prior to European intrusion in which the unique status of Aborigines as 'The First Australians' is recognised, at least implicitly, the narrative immediately reverts to the standard story of White Australia's history.

The proportion of whiteness affirming images (86 per cent) in this text is typical of the era. While images of Aborigines in *The Land They Found* are all pre-modern, these images are realistic portraits instead of caricatures: John Webber's (1785) engravings of unidentified nuenonne [south-east Tasmanian Aborigines] (see Figure Fourteen),

Earle's watercolour titled 'Desmond, a N. S. Wales chief painted for a karobbery [sic] or native dance' (1979, 34) and Thomas Bock's 1831 watercolour of Mannalargenna (1979, 131). Rather than being identified in the text however, the racialised and impersonal descriptors 'aboriginal chief' and 'aborigine', respectively, are used for the latter two images, which function to dehumanise and undermine the status of these revered personalities. Nevertheless, given their non-disparaging appearance, I classified these images as disruptive.



Figure 14: A man and woman of Van Diemen's Land, drawn by John Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (*The Land They Found* 1979, 3)

1980s

Average numbers of images per page increased again in this decade and narratives became segmented. However text size and use of three colours replicated 1970s texts. Most striking were changes to the proportion of images which affirm and disturb whiteness compared to the 1970s, with affirming images falling from 85 to 59 per cent and disruptive images rising from 8 to 14 per cent (see Table Four, page 64); no other decade in my sample witnessed such dramatic changes. These changes may be partly explained by 1970s socio-political developments, such as rescinding the White Australia Policy, passing the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) and introducing multiculturalism (Ang 1999; Stratton 1999). These shifts in racial policy at the socio-political level norms were mirrored in the production of revisionist histories which

explicitly sought to extend Australian history beyond its traditional focus on Whites. Textbook revision in response to social change can also be seen in the second edition of *Was It Only Yesterday* and the third edition of *Landmarks*, published in this decade. These revisions are elaborated in a later section (see page 96). However, I also suspected that the marked change in the proportion of affirming and disruptive images could be attributed to a new structure adopted by history texts from the 1980s onwards, accompanied by different emphases.

Beginning in the 1980s, Australian history is packaged as two separate texts, the first covering the period up until Federation, World War I or II and the second covering the remaining twentieth century history (see Table One, page 46). (Amalgamated texts which reproduce content previously published in separate texts, such as *SOSE Alive History 2*, are also published.) Whereas many texts from earlier decades focus disproportionately on pre-twentieth century history, texts with the new structure in which history is presented as two separate texts divide coverage relatively evenly between the two eras. Twentieth century histories have increased coverage of war – WWI, WWII, the Cold War and the Vietnam War among others. This tends to result in a higher proportion of images being classified as ‘not about whiteness’. For example, in the 1980s 24 per cent of images were classified as ‘not about whiteness’ compared to 6 per cent in the 1970s (see Table 4, page 64). These histories also have expanded coverage on contemporary issues which include content likely to be accompanied by images of non-Whites, such as Aborigines and non-White migrants and refugees, which are often categorised as disruptive. Hence, I theorised that, rather than simply reflecting socio-political change, the marked variation in the proportion of affirming and disruptive images in this (and subsequent) eras was at least partly attributable to the different structure of the texts concerned.

In order to test this idea, I counted the number of chapters in each history, SOSE or Humanities text in my sample (social science texts were excluded) covering pre- and post-1900 history. These raw numbers were then converted to percentages. The results of this analysis are shown in Chart Two. Pre-1900 history is shown in blue in Chart Two and post-1900 history in red. As this chart demonstrates, over the period of my sample, the percentage of content covering pre-1900 history has fallen from over 80 per cent to less than 50 per cent while the percentage of content covering post-1900 history has increased correspondingly. However, my supposition that this change in content influenced the dramatic shift in the proportion of affirming and disruptive images from the 1970s and 1980s was not supported; changes to the

proportion of content for the pre- and post-twentieth century eras from the 1970s to 1980s were relatively minor.

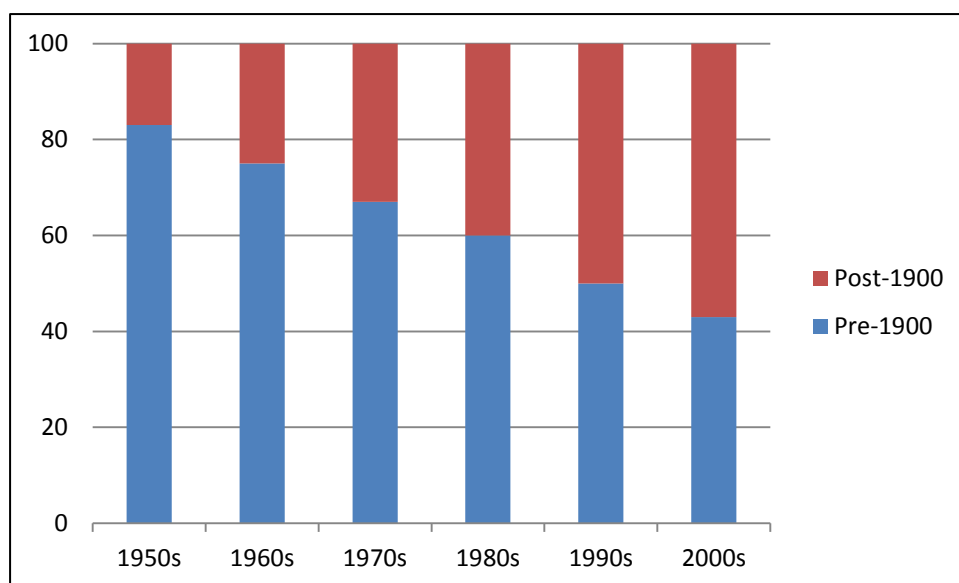


Chart 2: Percentage of content covering pre- and post-1900 history

Having ruled out changes in content due to the eras covered as responsible for the dramatic shift in the proportion of affirming and disruptive images from the 1970s to the 1980s, I then examined changes in the proportion of content dedicated to Whites and non-Whites. In contrast to changes to the amount of pre- and post-1900 history, the proportion of content representing non-Whites and Whites could, arguably, be influenced by socio-political developments from the 1970s. In particular, increased representation of non-Whites in textbooks corresponds with the increased representation of non-White issues in wider society.

The initial shift to structuring history as two separate texts in the 1980s resulted in a marked increase in overall length. For example, whereas the longest texts prior to the 1980s were approximately 250 pages, Coupe and Andrews' 1980s set comprises just over 450 pages (see Table Three, page 52). In this set, this extra space is filled disproportionately with non-White content, with, for example, three chapters on Aborigines, in comparison to, at most, one chapter in texts prior to the 1980s. Changes to the proportion of White to non-White content in my sample are shown in Chart Three. The proportion of non-White content is shown in red and the proportion of White content in blue. As this chart demonstrates, White to non-White content fell from 30:1 in the 1970s to 12:1 in the 1980s. The relative decrease in the proportion of White to non-White content from the 1970s to 1980s is mirrored in

changes to the proportion of affirming and disruptive images at this time. As expected, an increase in non-White content in the 1980s is associated with a decrease in images which affirm whiteness and a corresponding increase in disruptive images.

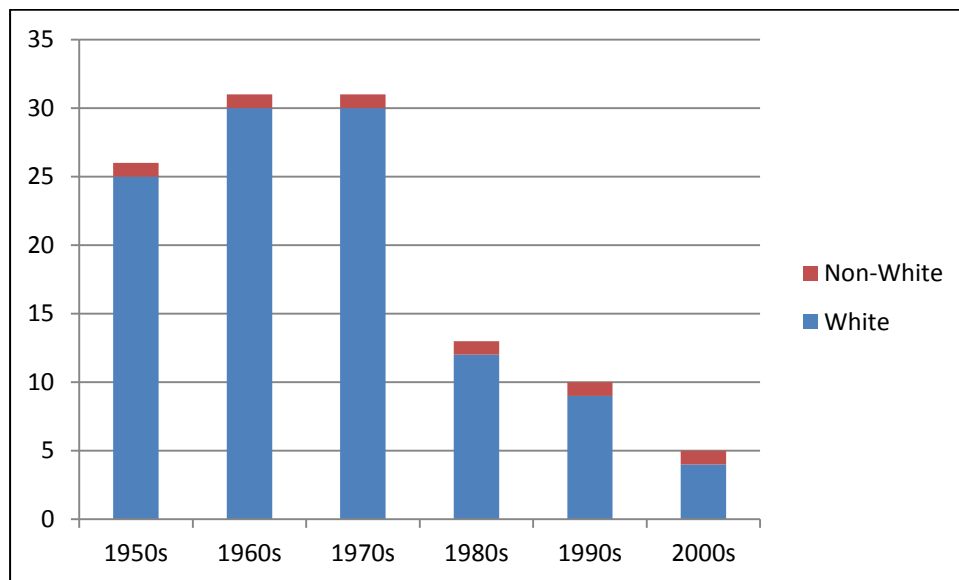


Chart 3: Number of chapters devoted to non-White and White content

However, this correlation does not continue in the subsequent decades in which the proportion of White to non-White content continues to decrease but the proportion of affirming and disruptive images either remains relatively stable or changes in the opposite direction than during the 1980s. For example, in contrast to the extended length of Coupe and Andrews' set, Jacaranda composite SOSE/Humanities texts published from the late 1990s onwards have an average of only 150 pages for their history sections, with history being reduced to four-five topics for each era. Nevertheless, the proportion of White to non-White content continues to fall because chapters on Aborigines and non-White immigrants tend to be retained, while some topics covering White history are jettisoned. While decreases in the relative proportions of White and non-White content are less marked for the 1990s and 2000s than in the 1980s, the fact that they are not mirrored by 1980s-like changes to affirming and disruptive images suggests that there are multiple factors which influence image selection. Nevertheless, I contend that the socio-political milieu is a substantial contributing factor. I now return to my analysis of individual texts.

As its title suggests, Johnston's *Australia This Century* (1982) covers twentieth-century history. The text is structured chronologically with short narratives followed by activities and exercises throughout the chapters. It is comprised of eight chapters,

three of which cover war. Almost a quarter of images (22 per cent) are 'not about whiteness'. White inundation is also apparent with affirming images of Whites predominating: 47 per cent of all images are identified (27 per cent) and unidentified (20 per cent) Whites. Every image of an identified White is male, although Evdokia Petrov is also named in a photograph with her husband. In contrast to the high proportion of affirming images depicting Whites, there are only four images of identified non-Whites and eight of unidentified non-Whites categorised as disruptive.

The remaining 1980s texts for the 1980s are a set of two histories by Coupe and Andrews: *Their Ghosts May Be Heard: Australia to 1900* (1984) and *Was It Only Yesterday: Australia is the twentieth century world* (1983). Both texts are structured chronologically and compartmentalise their narratives into discrete sections interspersed with illustrations, primary source material, imaginary conversations, activities and exercises. In addition to echoing the readability concerns expressed in *Australia's Two Centuries*, Coupe and Andrews highlight the consideration they gave to image choice:

Much care has been taken in choosing the illustrations and photos used. The language level, too, has been carefully maintained throughout to facilitate a ready understanding of the issues, especially those whose complexity always presents a problem.

Was It Only Yesterday 1983, viii

The proportion of affirming images in this set (57 per cent) is the lowest in my sample so far, while proportions for disruptive (16 per cent) and 'not about whiteness' (26 per cent) images are the highest. The high proportion of disruptive images evidences a notable attempt at representing diverse peoples. Nevertheless, siloing images of non-Whites in particular chapters minimises their disruptive potential: 75 per cent of disruptive images in both texts were incorporated in chapters on 'others'. Their disruptive potential is also reduced by racialising the images.

The final chapter of Coupe and Andrews' twentieth-century text, *Was It Only Yesterday*, encompasses issues for groups other than elite, White males – Aborigines, (non-White) immigrants, White women and White workers. Images in this chapter almost always reflect the topic: every image in the Aboriginal section, for example, includes Aborigines. Moreover, the Aborigines in these images are racialised as

‘Aboriginal’, even on the one occasion when the person in question was also named (1983, 185). Images of (non-White) immigrants are similarly racialised, while images of White women are gendered. The absence of racialised and gendered labels for White males evidences their normative status. A notable exception to the pattern of images reflecting their topic is the inclusion of a drawing of Australians espousing opinions about refugees in the section on immigration (1983, 195). In contrast to the signification of otherness in drawings of (non-White) immigrants, the ‘Australians’ in this image are portrayed as White, thereby reinscribing normative Australianness as White. These White Australians are performing ‘governmental belonging’ – the right to contribute to national governance (Hage 1998, 46). The image reflects Hage’s assertion that this aspect of citizenship is the exclusive property of White Australians.

Their Ghosts May Be Heard has two chapters which focus on non-White others, although as a pre-federation text, these others are exclusively Aboriginal. (A section on Chinese, in a chapter on the gold rushes, is discussed in Chapter Seven, see page 231.) An anthropological-style chapter describing traditional Aboriginal life near the beginning of the text is followed much later with a chapter devoted to Aboriginal-White interaction subsequent to colonisation. The latter chapter incorporates anti-racist discourses, highlighting the cataclysmic impact of colonisation, Phillip’s self-serving motivations for seeking contact with Aborigines and Macquarie’s failed policies. Moreover, frontier violence is discussed, and a map of major ‘clash’ sites included (1984, 164). In addition, rather than only discussing Aborigines as an undifferentiated group, *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* identifies four individuals – Mahroot, Bennelong, Yagan and Jimmy Governor, with accompanying, rudimentary images for Bennelong (1984, 159) and Governor (1984, 169). These constructions of individuality rather than generic Aboriginality are noteworthy. Nevertheless, these personifications reproduce antediluvian tropes of Aboriginality. For example, the stories of Bennelong and Jimmy Governor are used to highlight how ‘hard it was for an Aboriginal [sic] to fit into European society’ (1984, 160-1). Both men are also linked problematically with alcohol consumption. Indeed, as noted above (see page 61), Aborigines are linked with problematic alcohol consumption on ten occasions in this 17-page chapter.

1990s

The 1990s is the only decade in my sample in which the average number of images per page falls in comparison to previous decades – all three first editions had fewer images per page than the decade average from the 1980s. Although the proportion of

disruptive images rose again in this decade (19 per cent in comparison to 14 per cent for the 1980s), so did the proportion of affirming images (67 per cent compared to 59 per cent). This is the only decade in my sample in which the proportion of affirming images increased significantly (see Table Four, page 64). Although a reduction in the proportion of 'not about whiteness' images (from 24 per cent to 11 per cent) may have contributed to this increase, the influence of the broader socio-political climate cannot be ignored. This increase in the proportion of images that affirm whiteness coincided with a marked shift in Australian politics, from the racially progressive Keating era to a return to White dominance symbolised by the rise of Hansonism and election of conservative Prime Minister Howard and the politicisation of the history curriculum (see pages 11-12).

This decade saw the publication of textbooks designed to meet the Australian Education Council's (1994) national curriculum statement in Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE). Jacaranda texts have dominated the textbook market from this time. Although the three first editions for this decade in my sample are all published by Jacaranda, the earliest, *Voices from the Past: Australian history to Federation* (1994), differs significantly from the other Jacaranda texts in my sample. In terms of size, structure and colour scheme, *Voices from the Past* resembles my 1980s texts rather than the remaining 1990s and 2000s Jacaranda texts. In contrast, the remaining Jacaranda texts are large (A4) full colour, glossy texts. Whereas other subsequent editions in my sample replicated the original in terms of size and colour, the second edition of *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* (1994) and third edition of *Was It Only Yesterday* (1996) published this decade are also A4 size and full colour.

Voices from the Past also differs from the remaining Jacaranda texts in its image selection. The high proportion of whiteness affirming images (85 per cent) and concomitant low proportion of disturbing images (12 per cent) in this text reverses the gains made in the 1980s, replicating figures from the 1960s and 1970s (see Table Four, page 64). As a result, the increase in the proportion of affirming images in the 1990s compared to the previous decade is largely due to the images in *Voices from the Past*. Moreover, the increase in the proportion of disruptive images in this decade would have been more dramatic without the inclusion of figures from *Voices from the Past*. Figures for the remaining Jacaranda texts, in contrast, are broadly comparable with texts from the previous decade (see Chart One, page 63). A final minor contrast between *Voices from the Past* and the remaining Jacaranda texts in my sample is that

the former lacks any reference to curriculum standards, suggesting it was written before national curriculum statements were released.

Bassett, Bomford and Abrahams' (1994) *Voices from the Past* comprises 15 chapters in chronological order up to Federation. Short narratives are organised under discrete topics with illustrations and activities throughout the chapters. Despite *Voices from the Past's* limitations, it is the first text in my sample to include a map which contests White possession by depicting land as the territory of Aboriginal language groups (see Figure Fifteen). Maps such as these, as well as those which refuse White place names, portray Australia as Aboriginal land, disturbing constructions of Australia as a White possession and the fiction of *terra nullius*. Although pan-Aboriginality is present throughout the text, it is temporarily disrupted by the recognition of distinct cultural and language groups. The term 'Aborigines' is also critiqued. Without a hint of irony, the text (1994, 15) states that '[m]any Aborigines do not like the use of this word ...'. Some alternatives meaning 'person' – Koori, Bama, Murri, Nunga and Nyoongah – are listed. Both these initiatives are extended in the other pre-federation texts for this decade and those for the 2000s.

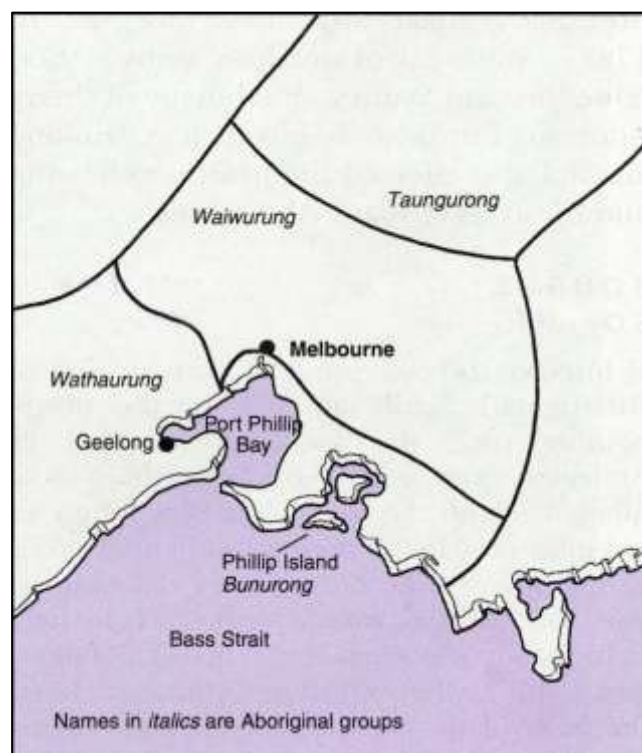


Figure 15: The Port Phillip area (*Voices from the Past* 1994, 138)

The other first editions for this decade in my sample are *SOSE 3* (1998) which details Australian history up to federation, and *SOSE 4* (1998) which covers twentieth

century history. My analysis is restricted to the initial 'time, continuity and change' (history) sections of these texts. These texts follow a new structure which is replicated in the remaining texts in my sample: 4-5 history chapters comprised of an array of discrete units, usually covering one double page each. *SOSE 3* and 4 have similar proportions of disruptive images (21 and 25 per cent respectively) with the vast majority (over 75 per cent) of disruptive images siloed in sections devoted to non-Whites. In contrast, *SOSE 3* has 75 per cent affirming images compared to only 42 per cent for *SOSE 4*. This difference can largely be attributed to the substantial increase in the proportion of war images from *SOSE 4* categorised as 'not about whiteness'. A notable change in this decade is a reduction in the racialisation of images of non-Whites. For example, whereas in previous decades the caption for Figure Sixteen would unfailingly include a reference to Aboriginality, instead it simply reads 'Living in a dry area'. This image's inclusion in a section on Aboriginal life prior to British colonisation renders the descriptor 'Aborigine' superfluous. Nevertheless, with occasional exceptions, such as Figure Fourteen (see page 78), superfluous racialised descriptors for images of non-Whites were ubiquitous in my sample prior to these texts. In contrast, from the 1990s, racialised descriptors, while still present, are less frequent.



Figure 16: Living in a dry area (*SOSE 3* 1998, 11)

Siloing is pronounced in *SOSE 3* with only four of the thirty-four disruptive images appearing in 'non-Aboriginal' chapters. As usual, pre-colonial Aboriginal life is discussed in an initial chapter 'Aborigines and Europeans'. While the title of this chapter suggests interaction between these groups, they are in fact discussed sequentially: pre-colonial Aboriginal life is outlined, followed by pre-1788 contact between Aborigines and Asians and lastly European 'discovery'. The second chapter, 'Settlement and conflict', is more integrated than the first. For example, frontier conflict is included and both 'Aboriginal attitudes towards the Europeans' (1998, 50) and 'European attitudes towards the Aborigines' (1998, 52) are discussed. However, as Cowlshaw (1999, 9) notes, sections on Aboriginal attitudes are likely to reflect White beliefs rather than Aboriginal perceptions. While the first two chapters are not as segregated as previous texts, the remaining history chapters in this text are exclusively White. The customary framing of Aborigines as members of an undifferentiated, pan-Aboriginal group is disrupted by two maps identifying particular language groups (see Figure Seventeen). Indeed, a question accompanying one of the maps asks '[w]hy might the word 'Aborigine' be an inadequate description of the people shown on the map' (1998, 31). Consistent with the siloing approach however, recognition of Aboriginal land ownership is confined to this designated 'Aboriginal' chapter.

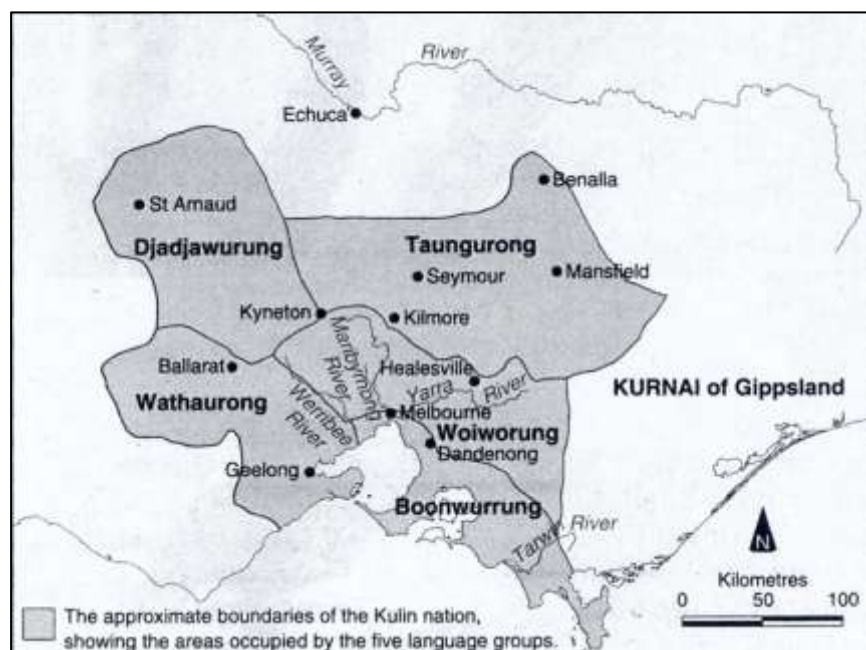


Figure 17: Victorian and New South Wales Aboriginal language groups (*SOSE 3* 1998, 8)

Like most Jacaranda texts covering the twentieth century, war forms the structure of both editions of *SOSE 4*, with chapters on WWI, the 'between the wars' years, WWI

and post-1945. The latter chapter includes units on the Cold War and the Vietnam War. This structure reflects a new pattern, continued in the 2000s, of positioning Australian history in the twentieth century within an international context. The final history chapter in the first edition of *SOSE 4* is a unit on demographic change: 'Australian all ... are we not?'. This chapter which frames Australians as 'com[ing] from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds' has a relatively high proportion of images of non-Whites (see sections on national identity and non-White immigration in Chapter Seven for further analysis of this chapter).

An interesting change in the second edition of *SOSE 3* (2000) is the omission of the chapter on Aboriginal life prior to British colonisation. With the exception of *Humanities 3* in which this chapter is reduced to one double page (see page 93), an initial chapter on this topic is present in every other text in my sample published from the late 1970s onwards which covers the pre-20th century era. Given that the second edition of *SOSE 3* is promoted as suitable for different curriculum standards to the first edition, I investigated whether the reason for the omission of this chapter could be attributed to these revised standards. However, there was no evidence to support this supposition.

Both versions of the Curriculum and Standards Framework ([CSF] Board of Studies 1995, 2000) stress that they are not prescriptive. The first edition (Board of Studies 1995, 1) emphasises that 'the key term is framework', explaining that this framework outlines 'the major elements of the curriculum' while allowing for 'a wide variety of approaches to these matters'. Similarly, CSF II (Board of Studies 2000, 2) states that its 'statements do not constitute a syllabus and do not prescribe specific teaching methods or the details of actual courses'. As such, individual textbooks are perhaps best considered particular interpretations of the curriculum standards rather than the only possible interpretation. Nevertheless, the learning outcomes for both versions of the CSF (1995, 27; 2000, 37) include references to the impact of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Indeed, the introductory section in CSF II (2000, 7) incorporates a new topic labelled 'inclusive curriculum' which focuses exclusively on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives. In particular, this section states that *SOSE* 'assists students to ... challenge historical and contemporary understandings of European history through the exploration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives' (2000, 7). The omission of this topic from the second edition of *SOSE 3*, then, appears to be in opposition to the curriculum standards rather than guided by them.

This omission may be partly accounted for by the trend evident in texts published in the 2000s to reduce anthropological-style accounts of 'traditional' Aborigines in favour of contemporary representations. This trend is elaborated in the following section which discusses texts published in this decade. On the other hand, its occurrence in an era which witnessed the rise of Hansonism, the election of Howard and the politicisation of the History Wars suggests it also reflects changing social norms. Compensating somewhat for this omission is an expanded chapter on contemporary Aboriginality in second edition of *SOSE 4*, with four units on contemporary Indigenous issues such as the Mabo decision, the Stolen Generation and reconciliation. Whereas colonial era Aboriginal content tends to reflect poorly on Whites, content on contemporary Aboriginality emphasises progress due to White benevolence. Hence, changes to the Aboriginal content in the second editions of *SOSE 3* and *4* facilitate a more celebratory narrative of Aboriginality.

2000s

My sample for this decade incorporates five first edition Jacaranda *SOSE* or Humanities texts all of which, to varying extents, reproduce chapters or units from previous Jacaranda texts. My analysis is restricted to the history sections of these texts. The structure of texts established in the late 1990s is continued in the texts for this decade: Australian history is presented in two separate texts, designated '3' and '4', with federation the most common end point for the first text. Texts published this decade also include digital resources – accessed via CD-ROM or online via the Jacaranda website. For the majority of texts published in this decade (including those excluded from my sample) coverage of pre-federation history encompasses four chapters – 'First Australians', colonisation, gold and national identity. This choice of topics recognises Aborigines' unique status as first peoples, minimises White 'discovery', omits White 'exploration' and tempers the development narrative, demonstrating anti-racist practice. Long accepted tropes of Aboriginality such as hunter-gathering and inherent nomadicity are also contested in this decade (see Figure One, page 50).

Twentieth-century history is also usually segmented into four chapters – World War I, 'Between the wars', World War II and a final chapter on modern Australia within an international context. In comparison to the exclusive focus on raced, gendered and classed others in a similar chapter in the 1980s text *Was It Only Yesterday*, these chapters in most Jacaranda texts include issues relevant to the entire population, such as involvement in war, protest movements and technological advances, thereby

avoiding this method of normalising White males. Texts from the 2000s also demonstrate less siloing and further reduction in the racialisation of non-Whites. Yet these changes are not reflected in my content analysis results; although images per page increased again in this decade, affirming images decreased slightly while there was minimal change to the proportions of other images, suggesting limitations to my content analysis. In particular, the limitation of being unable to 'discriminate between an aspect of an image that exemplifies a code perfectly, and one that is only a weak example of it' (Rose 2007, 72) seems relevant. I categorised as disruptive any named or unidentified non-Whites unless these images were manifestly pejorative. Siloing and racialisation were not considered. Consequently, images highlighting difference were not distinguished from more inclusive ones; racialised images in a siloed chapter signalling difference were equated with integrated, individualised images.

SOSE Alive History 2 (2005) is a compilation of the history sections from *SOSE Alive 3* (2004) and *SOSE Alive 4* (2005). Texts labelled 'Alive' are marketed as stimulating, engaging and accessible. In comparison to other Jacaranda texts, the layout is more compartmentalised with shorter, simplified narratives and more images. A number of innovations in *SOSE Alive History 2*, noted below, were not carried forward to subsequent Jacaranda publications.

The pseudo-anthropological tone of previous texts is reduced in the initial unit on 'First Australians'. *SOSE Alive History 2* is the first text in my sample to use the term 'Indigenous' in preference to 'Aborigines'. Although this term is reproduced throughout the text, a small section highlights the diversity of language groups, accompanied by a map of Australia divided up into these groups (2005, 6). More encompassing names such as 'Kooris', 'Murris' and 'Nyungahs' are also explained (2005, 5). The map of language groups covering the entire continent is included in a unit titled 'The first landowners' (2005, 4). Both the map and the title disrupt notions of *terra nullius*. When this unit is reproduced in *Humanities Alive 3*, the narrative remains largely unchanged. However, the map is omitted and the title downgraded from 'The first landowners' to 'Links with the land' (2006, 2), intimating that constructing Aborigines as landowners was too provocative for White Australians. ('Settlement or invasion', a new unit in *Humanities Alive 3* (2006, 34-5), considers the issue of land ownership.) Similarly, whereas *SOSE Alive History 2* has seven references in the index for 'forced off their land', this entry is absent in *Humanities Alive 3*. (Titles and index entries for topics on frontier violence – 'Deadly encounters'

and 'Massacre!' – were retained). A unit in *SOSE Alive History 2* correcting the White misconceptions that Aborigines were inherently nomadic and did not farm (see Figure One, page 50) is also omitted from later texts.

An additional feature of *SOSE Alive History 2*, a reduction in siloing in comparison to previous decades, is also reversed in some subsequent texts. With the exception of *Australia's Two Centuries*, chapters on Australian identity (where present) in previous texts were exclusively White. In contrast, this chapter in *SOSE Alive History 2* incorporates content on Aborigines. For example, the introductory image is a photograph of Cathy Freeman after her gold medal sprint in the Sydney 2000 Olympics (2005, 73), the topic 'Voice of the workers' includes a photograph of Coranderrk women as an example of protest strikes (2005, 83); and 'Australian perspectives' includes a painting by Aboriginal artist William Barak (see page 216). These attempts at inclusivity are not reproduced in *Humanities Alive 3*.

Aboriginal topics are also included in the chapters 'Between the wars', 'World War II' and 'The changing face of Australia'. The former includes a unit on Indigenous Australians, covering the protectorate system, child removal, Indigenous veterans and the Day of Mourning (2005, 126-7). While the inclusion of these topics is noteworthy, the role of Indigenous soldiers in World War I would, arguably, be better placed in the chapter on the war rather than an 'Aboriginal' unit covering the inter-war period. The chapter on World War II includes a reference to Indigenous prisoners of war (2005, 156). The introductory image for the text's final chapter which covers post-World War II issues shows demonstrators walking across the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 2000 in support of reconciliation (2005, 169). This chapter includes the 1965 'freedom rides' and the 1967 referendum in a unit on 'Voices of protest' (2005, 180). In contrast to these sympathetic portrayals, a later unit on reconciliation (2005, 188-9) positions Aborigines as a problem for the White nation rather than an integral part of a diverse nation.

'The changing face of Australia' also includes a unit on refugees, 'Australia – a safe haven?' (2005, 186-7). In comparison to the implicit threat suggested by this topic in *SOSE 4 Second Edition* (see Figure Thirty-Nine, page 251), *SOSE Alive History 2* highlights Australia's obligations to refugees as a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention. The depiction of an expanded category of 'Australianness' in *SOSE Alive History 2* is a noticeable improvement on the ineffectual attempt in the chapter 'Australians all ... are we not?' in *SOSE 4* (see pages 215, 249-250). The reduction in siloing is an important advance in this regard; rather than being

reinscribed as others, Aborigines are frequently incorporated as 'Australians'. However, this practice is not extended to non-White immigrants.

Humanities Alive 3 (2006) and 4 (2007) contain many pages which are exact replicas from *SOSE Alive History 2*. The similarities derived from being labelled 'Alive' seem to outweigh categorisation as 'Humanities' or 'SOSE' texts. Given the similarities between them, it is not surprising that the results for the content analysis of these texts are comparable. Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare the texts, noting additions and omissions. My decision to include these texts in my sample was also based on the publication of second editions which supports my research aim of comparing texts temporally. Overall, in comparison to *SOSE Alive History 2*, *Humanities Alive 3* has less content Aboriginal content from the pre-colonial and colonial eras, but more for the contemporary era. These changes, which mimic differences between the first and second editions of *SOSE 3* and 4, minimise content covering the impact of colonisation for Aborigines which portrays Whites negatively, while increasing the celebratory narrative of White benevolence in units on contemporary Aboriginality.

The initial chapter of *Humanities Alive 3*, 'First Australians', duplicates some units from *SOSE Alive History 2*, omits others and incorporates new ones. *SOSE Alive History 2*'s units on the Dreaming and Aborigines as 'only hunter-gatherers' (see Figure One, page 50) are omitted, while units on 'Indigenous resistance' (2006, 14-15), 'The story of Coranderrk' (2006, 16-17) and 'The Torres Strait Islanders' (2006, 24-5) are added. This is the first text in my sample to clearly distinguish between Torres Strait Islanders and Aborigines. Whereas the topic of resistance to invasion is covered in one paragraph in *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 17), this topic is extended to a double page focusing on Pemulwuy and Yagan in *Humanities Alive 3* (2006, 14-15). Dedicating a unit to resistance positions Aborigines as agentic rather than helpless victims. Moreover, pan-Aboriginality is challenged by highlighting the experience of individuals rather than discussing generic Aboriginal resistance.

British colonisation is portrayed more favourably in *Humanities Alive 3* by omitting a unit on 'The hard years' (*SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 36-7). On the other hand, the unit 'Settlement or invasion?' (*Humanities Alive 3*, 34-5) encourages students to consider colonisation from different viewpoints. As discussed above, Aborigines are less visible in the chapter on Australian identity with photographs of Cathy Freeman and Coranderrk residents omitted. The art section in 'Australian perspectives',

which included Barak's artwork, is also omitted. Replacing these representations of Aboriginality is a photograph of pastoral workers in the unit 'Community snapshots' (2006, 83). The final chapter in *Humanities Alive 4*, 'Australia in a changing world' has more extensive coverage than the comparable chapter in *SOSE Alive History 2*, with additional units of post-war immigration and Indigenous issues. Images in these units are frequently of non-Whites, categorised as disruptive, which may partly explain the increase in the proportion of disruptive units for this set.

The final texts in my sample, *Humanities 3* and *4* (2007), are longer than the 'Alive' texts, with less images per page, a higher proportion of affirming images and a lower proportion of disruptive ones. These texts are also structured differently to the 'Alive' ones. The chapter on 'First Australians' is merged with British arrival to form '1788: Contact, colonisation and conflict'. This structure minimises pseudo-anthropological narratives of Aboriginality and overcomes the racially-based decision to categorise Aboriginal-White interactions in an 'Aboriginal' chapter rather than a chapter on 'early colonisation'. On the other hand, acknowledgement of Aborigines as 'First Australians' is also minimised. Whereas the topic encompassed an entire chapter in previous texts, in *Humanities 3*, it is reduced to just one double page. Overall, less information is provided as the number of units of study is reduced from 20 (in *Humanities Alive 3*) to ten. Arguably, attempting to cover both the White story of 'courage, determination and vision', (2007, 2) and the Aboriginal story of invasion in ten units is overly ambitious. As with previous sets for this decade, this reduced content on pre-colonial Aboriginality is accompanied by increased representations of contemporary Aboriginality (see below).

Noteworthy in *Humanities 3* is the incorporation of Aboriginal place names and language groups throughout the text rather than being mentioned at one point but not applied in practice. This individualising practice disrupts pan-Aboriginality. A unit on 'Indigenous voices in the 1930s' (2007, 138-9) is included in the 'Between the wars' chapter. Similarly, the chapter on national identity reverts to a more inclusive approach, incorporating sections on Aborigines, thereby positioning Aborigines as Australians. For example, Barak's 'Figures in possum skin cloaks' is contrasted with colonial art which 'Europeanised' Australian landscapes (2007, 60), while the rations given to Aboriginal labourers in lieu of wages is discussed in a section on working conditions (2007, 82). The tension felt by White Australia from non-White immigration is also discussed.

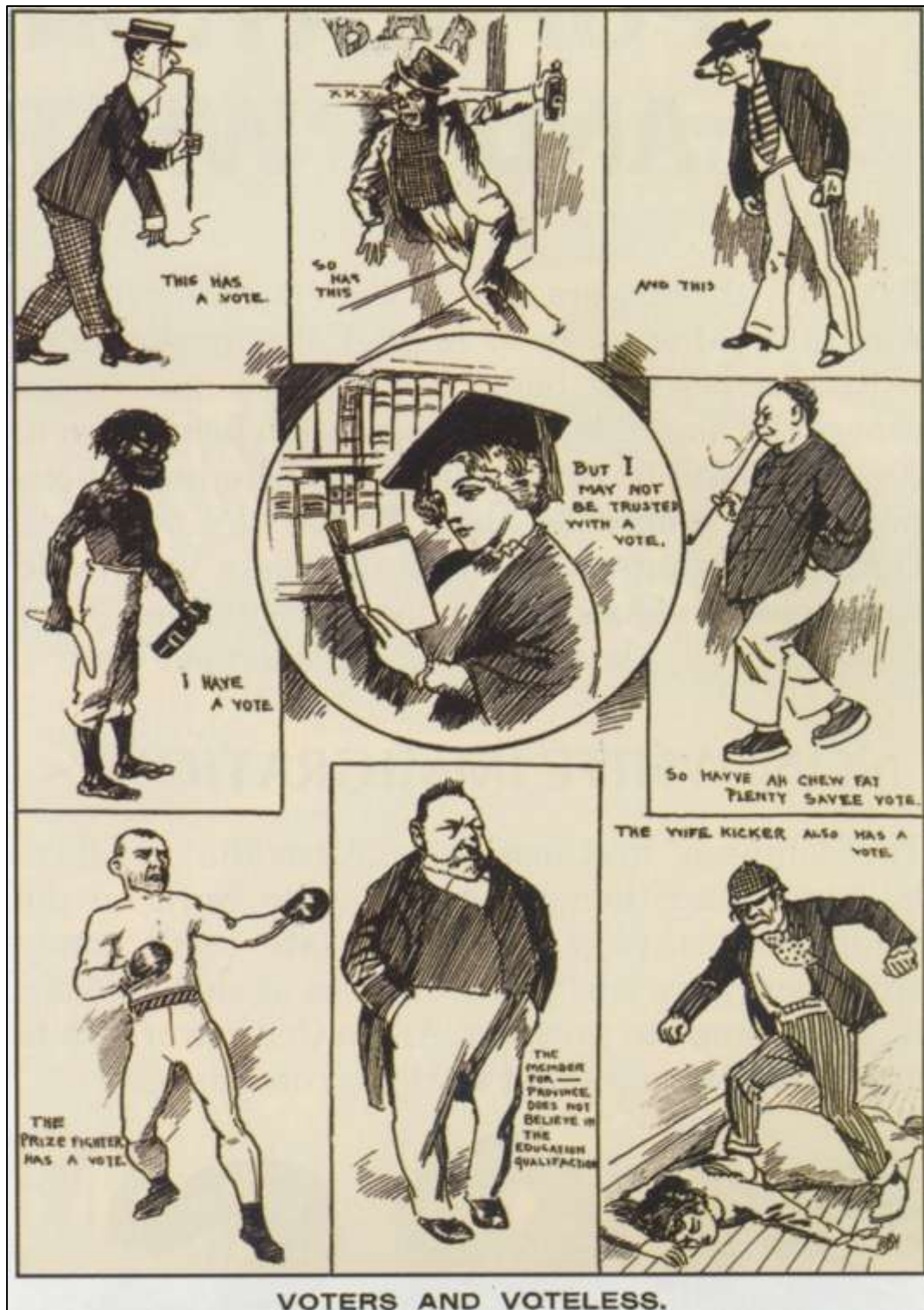


Figure 18: An illustration that appeared on the cover of the second issue of the *Australian Woman's Sphere*, October 1900 (*Humanities* 3 2007, 77)

A unit on voting rights which focuses on the disenfranchised is fairly evenly divided between Aborigines and White women. On the other hand, a cartoon supporting women's suffrage positions Aborigines as less qualified to vote than White women

(see Figure Eighteen). The cartoon contrasts a studious White woman with eight men who are framed as less qualified to vote, including a White alcoholic, a dishevelled Aborigine holding an alcohol bottle (and a boomerang) and a Chinese opium-smoker. Differences in the representations of the Aborigine and the White alcoholic demonstrate that a problematic relationship with alcohol is a central feature of conceptions of Aboriginality. Whereas the Aborigine is merely holding a bottle, the White is portrayed as falling over outside a bar. The absence of these additional signals for the Aborigine suggests they are superfluous; the idea of alcohol consumption (signalled by the bottle) is sufficient to evoke the problematic link between Aborigines and alcohol which render (all) Aborigines less qualified to vote than White women. This image is reproduced in *Voices from the Past* (1994, 238).

The space created by moving two chapters normally contained in '4' books to *Humanities 3* is filled by expanding the final topic 'Australia in a changing world' into four separate chapters in *Humanities 4*. These chapters are 'Communism, Capitalism and the Cold War' which includes a unit on immigration and refugees, 'Changing Rights and Freedoms' which comprises six units on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activism and four on gender inequality focused on White women, 'Changing culture and technology' and 'Australia as a global citizen'. The penultimate chapter represents Aborigines with images of Evonne Goolagong (2007, 101) in a unit on sport and Jedda (2007, 104-5) and Rabbit Proof Fence (2007, 106-7) in a unit on 'Making movies and shaping Australian identity'. The final chapter highlights Australian intervention in the non-White world, with this intervention portrayed as innocuous (see Figure Nineteen).



Figure 19: Photograph of a member of the Australian peacekeeping force in East Timor, in July 2001, carrying out first aid on a child's cut foot (*Humanities 4* 2007, 119)

Subsequent editions

With the exception of the Jacaranda series discussed previously, *Was It Only Yesterday*, *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* and *Landmarks Third Edition* are the only texts in my sample whose subsequent editions demonstrate changes to images in response to changing social norms. In the remainder of subsequent editions prior to the Jacaranda series, changes centre on updating the texts by including recent events or issues, such as changes of government or international policies. The only new images included in these texts are ones accompanying these new additions to the narrative. While the attempt to respond to social change in subsequent editions is presumably well-intentioned, the results detailed below suggest that change is best represented by producing new textbooks rather than attempting to tweak existing content.

Over the decades covered by my research, the representation of non-White peoples in textbooks has transitioned from that of sub-human others to people, as illustrated in images from three editions of *Was It Only Yesterday* shown in Figures Twenty to Twenty-Two. Whereas the first edition (1983, 192) image of an Asian man is an offensive caricature, the second edition (1989, 202) inscribes otherness without the element of derision redolent in the previous edition. Nevertheless, difference (between 'us' and 'them') in dress, religion and language is highlighted by the image. Moreover, the narrative underneath the image, which explains how Australia needs more people for defence, is unchanged. In this context, 'more people' refers to non-Asian people, supporting Dyer's (1997, 1) claim that only Whites are considered people. The narrative's construction of Asians as potential invaders is again unchanged in the third edition (see Figure Twenty-Two). However, the image is appreciably different. In contrast to the construction of alien otherness in the first two editions, the third image normalises Asians. This example shows a trajectory of supplanting otherness by increasing attributions of humanness. Similarly, caricatures of Asian, black and white men in a diagram of the 'links between members of the Commonwealth of Nations' in the first edition of *Was It Only Yesterday* (1983, 155) are omitted from this diagram in the text's second and third editions (1989, 162; 1996, 177). Nevertheless, incongruence between the image and the narrative demonstrates that regardless of explicit attempts to reduce constructions of otherness, these constructions are reinscribed implicitly.

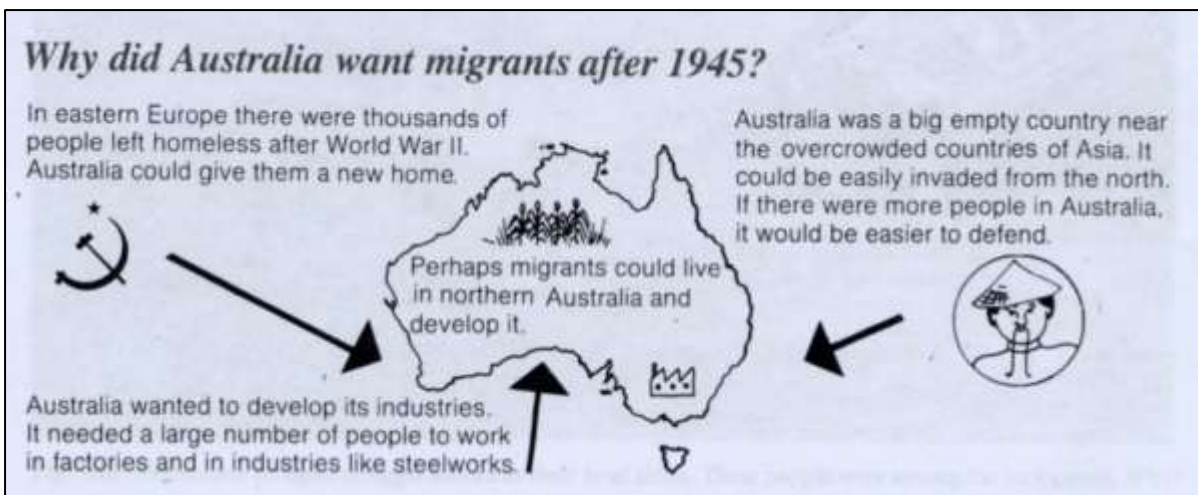


Figure 20: Four reasons why Australia wanted migrants in 1945 (*Was It Only Yesterday* 1983, 192)

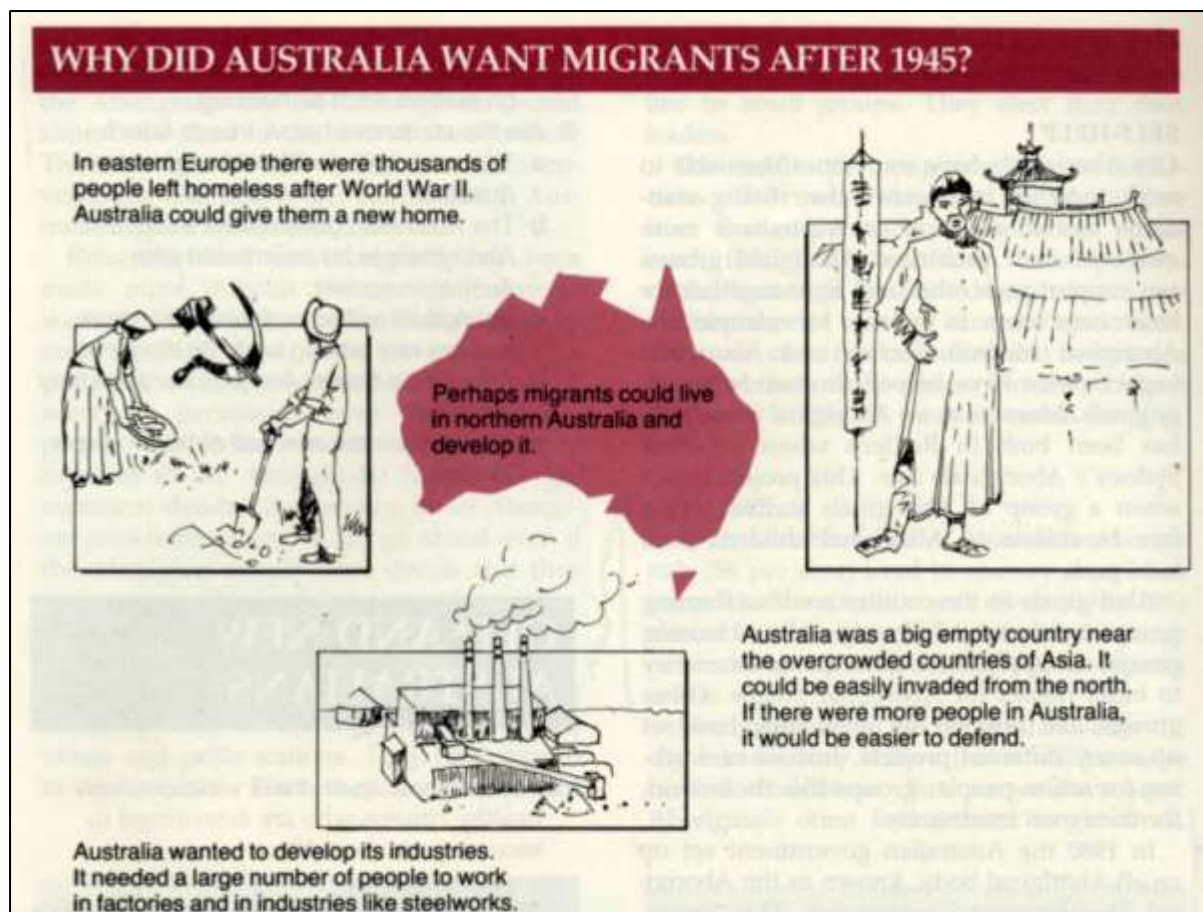


Figure 21: Four reasons why Australia wanted migrants in 1945 (*Was It Only Yesterday, Second Edition* 1989, 202)

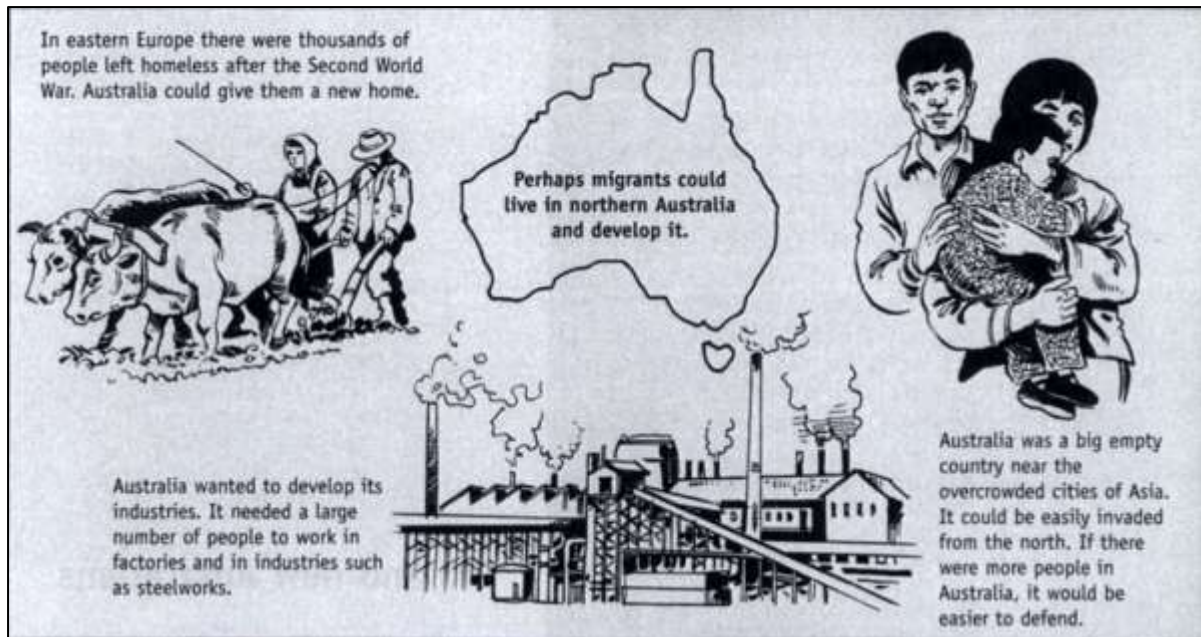


Figure 22: Four reasons why Australia wanted migrants in 1945 (*Was It Only Yesterday*, Third Edition 1996, 224)

The changing depiction of Asianness in later editions of *Was It Only Yesterday* suggests recognition that the existing images were offensive and misleading. However, the offensiveness of the images was not new; the negative stereotypes reproduced by these images were stable. Rather, new social norms recognised this offensiveness, thereby rendering the images objectionable and the inculcation of these stereotypes in textbooks as deleterious. Moreover, the inclusion of derisory images reveals the contemptuous attitude towards Asians held by producers of the text. Omitting this image from subsequent editions then, may have been driven as much by a desire on the part of the text's producers to portray themselves favourably, as any impetus to portray Asians more positively. Nevertheless, given the importance of images to constructing notions of self and other, these changes are gratifying.

While amendments to the images in subsequent editions such as those outlined above evidence a positive step away from the ignorance of previous editions, these changes result in only minimal alterations to the proportion of images which affirm or disrupt whiteness. For instance, in the second edition of *Was it Only Yesterday* (1989) 18 images were redone without altering their content, eight new images were included (three affirming, one disturbing, one ambiguous and three 'not about whiteness'), two original images were omitted (one disturbing and one 'not about whiteness'), and six diagrams had minor alterations, four of which evidence a lessening in the racialisation of non-Whites. This resulted in one image being

categorised as ambiguous instead of 'not about whiteness'. Aggregating these images with the first edition totals resulted in three additional affirming images and three additional 'not about whiteness' images. After rounding to the nearest whole number, disturbing images fell by 1 per cent to 12 per cent, while the proportion of affirming (45 per cent), ambiguous and 'not about whiteness' were unchanged.

Similar patterns of minimal change are evident in the third edition of *Was It Only Yesterday* and second edition of *Their Ghosts May Be Heard*. Although the third edition of *Was it Only Yesterday* (1996) had more changes to the images than the second edition, these changes still had little impact on the proportion of images which affirmed or disturbed whiteness, largely because similar numbers of images which affirmed and/or disturbed whiteness were added and omitted. Thirty-two images were omitted, (10 affirming, nine disruptive including Figure 8 (see page 61), two ambiguous, 11 'not about whiteness'), while 44 new images were added (18 affirming, six disruptive, seven ambiguous, 13 'not about whiteness'), resulting in eight additional affirming images, three less disruptive images, five additional ambiguous images and two additional 'not about whiteness' images. Once, these figures were added to the previous totals, the proportion of affirming (44 per cent) and 'not about whiteness' (38 per cent) images remained unchanged, while disturbing images fell from 14 to 12 per cent, and ambiguous images increased from 5 to 6 per cent.

The second edition of *Their Ghosts May Be Heard* (1994) evidences similar results. Two images were omitted from the second addition (one affirming and one disturbing) while 33 images were added (23 affirming, eight disturbing and one 'not about whiteness'). Once these figures were added to the first edition scores however, the proportion of images for affirming (69 per cent) and disturbing (19 per cent) images were unchanged. The minimal change to the proportion of images which affirm or disrupt whiteness in the subsequent editions detailed above suggests that following periods of marked social change, texts which begin afresh are better positioned to reflect these changes than amended texts from the pre-change era.

In addition to updating its images in response to social change, *Landmarks Third Edition* (1987) also amended its existing narrative – the only text in my sample to do so. In the remaining texts, challenges to the standard historical narrative, such as incorporating Aboriginal or White women's experiences, occurred by producing new texts rather than amending existing ones. Whereas the first two editions of

Landmarks had a small section on Aborigines in the fifteenth chapter, 'Australian attitudes', in the third edition this section is re-written as an initial chapter titled 'Aborigines'. This structure implicitly acknowledges Aborigines as first Australians. The previous editions' one-sided inclusion of White attitudes to the Aborigines is also rectified with a section titled 'Black Attitudes to the Whites'. Although the attitudes presented in this section are attributed to Aborigines, they may more accurately represent White ideas about Aboriginal beliefs (Cowlshaw 1999, 9). Nevertheless, the inclusion of this chapter is a noteworthy attempt by the authors to correct their neglect of Aborigines in previous editions. It also helps ensure the textbook's relevance for students in the 1980s. However, with the exception of incorporating recent events, such as the election of the Hawke government, the remainder of the text is unchanged. Siloed in the introductory chapter, Aborigines are absent from the rest of the text which reverts to the standard historical narrative of economic development of White Australia. Consequently, the overall whiteness of the text remains largely unchanged and changes to the proportion of affirming and disrupting images are again minimal.

The new chapter in *Landmarks Third Edition* includes two new maps, five new diagrams and two new graphs. Out of these new images, none were affirming and five were disturbing to whiteness. Two negative images of Aborigines from the earlier editions were also omitted – a photograph highlighting the poverty of an Aboriginal camp (Figure Seven, page 59) and a cartoon of a fruit picker drawn in the black-and-white minstrel style. Combining these figures to the existing totals for this text, the proportion of affirming images in total is reduced from 82 to 77 per cent while the proportion of disturbing images is increased from 5 to 8 per cent. Although the proportion of affirming images in *Landmarks Third Edition* fell, it remains high in comparison to the other subsequent edition published in the 1980s – *Was It Only Yesterday Second Edition* (1989) with 45 per cent affirming images.

The differing proportion of affirming images in the 1980s editions of *Was It Only Yesterday* and *Landmarks* may partly be due to the content of the texts. *Landmarks* covers the whole period of White Australian history, while *Was It Only Yesterday* covers only twentieth century history and has a higher proportion of images categorised as 'not about whiteness'. Moreover, in spite of amendments, subsequent editions tend to reflect the era in which they were first published. Whereas *Landmarks* was first published in the late 1960s, *Was It Only Yesterday* was first published in the early 1980s. As shown in Table Four (see page 64), there were

marked changes to textbooks published in the 1980s compared to the 1960s and 1970s, with images affirming whiteness falling from 85 to 59 per cent and images disturbing whiteness doubling. Amending just one chapter of the 1980s edition of *Landmarks* was insufficient to replicate many of these changes. These results suggest that incorporating social change is best achieved by producing new textbooks rather than amending existing ones.

Conclusion

My research sample spans the transition in the Australian polity from the White Australia era to multiculturalism. As records of dominant narratives, textbooks exhibit the socio-cultural shifts heralded by this transition, adding new topics and perspectives while omitting or tweaking existing content. In this chapter I argued that changes in the structure and content of textbooks have produced modified representations of Australian history. As demonstrated by my content analysis, over the time period of my sample the whiteness of Australian history texts has lessened somewhat, with a reduction in images that affirm whiteness and increase in images that disturb whiteness (see Chart One, page 63). Moreover, my analysis of textbook structure shows a lessening of White exceptionalism, White solipsism and non-White otherness, most noticeably in texts published in the 2000s. These texts have increased Aboriginal and non-White immigrant content, with less siloing and explicit constructions of otherness and some representation of Aboriginal perspectives, evidencing genuine attempts to disrupt the 'great Australian silence' (Stanner 2009, 189) regarding Aborigines within Australian history. These changes suggest a refusal to uncritically reproduce the celebratory, White-centred histories of previous eras. Over time, textbooks incorporate diverse perspectives and peoples, depicting a more complex story of White history with success tempered by ignorance and injustice.

Notwithstanding the above changes, many representations of Australian history remain remarkably stable over the period of my sample. For example, since the 1980s proportions of affirming and disturbing images have remained fairly constant. Similarly, Australianness continues to be equated with whiteness; non-Whites remain positioned as other to normative Australianness. These continuities infer that despite explicit attempts at disruption, implicit constructions which affirm whiteness endure. Continuities in the representation of Australian history in spite of seemingly genuine attempts at change may be explained by the normalisation of whiteness and its attendant ignorance. Indeed, changes such as the well-intentioned abandonment

of explicit constructions of White superiority in the multicultural era have facilitated the normalisation of whiteness. Normalisation renders whiteness unmarked – ‘invisible’ to Whites and shielded from interrogation – thereby enabling its perpetuation. Epistemologies of ignorance which generate White obliviousness of whiteness also prevent its interruption, suggesting that further disruptions to White normativity are unlikely. The contemporary politicisation of history education also threatens further progress through overtly pressuring educators to return to an uncritical triumphant portrayal of progress and White achievement. Although textbooks appear to be resisting this pressure in terms of reversing the gains made, it is a further impediment to progress in terms of disrupting whiteness. In the following section, I discuss the results of my content analysis in the context of changes to the overall structure of texts as well as wider socio-political change.

In responses to changes in the educational domain over the period of my research, such as responsibility for learning shifting from students to teachers and pedagogical developments, textbooks became more visually appealing in order to attract and hold student interest. Whereas texts published in the 1950s were small, black-and-white extended narratives with minimal images (less than 20 per text), by the late 1990s texts had far greater visual impact: A4 size, full-colour, glossy publications with the narrative segmented into discrete units illustrated and compartmentalised by over 200 images per text as well as activities and exercises.

Marrying changes to pictorality with my content analysis results suggests an inverse relationship between pictorality and affirming images and a positive relationship between pictorality and disruptive images. Increases in average images per page were associated with a fall in the proportion of affirming images in the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s but no change in the 1970s (see Table Four, page 64). In contrast to the other decades, images per page decreased in the 1990s but were, nevertheless, inversely related to affirming images, with affirming images increasing. In contrast, average number of images per page was positively related to the proportion of images with the potential to disrupt whiteness. Overall then, as the pictorality of texts increased over the decades of my research sample, the whiteness of texts was directly affirmed less and disrupted more. Despite these changes however, the proportion of affirming images in the 2000s remained relatively high (over 60 per cent) while disrupting images were only just over 20 per cent. In other words, White inundation persists. Given that images are powerful instruments in the construction and normalisation of categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’, these results are troubling.

The use of images in textbooks demonstrates Foucault's (1990, 27) assertion that the construction of particular meanings necessarily precludes alternative meanings. Although textbook narratives often implicitly evoke the White male subject by referring to ostensibly unraced and ungendered groups such as 'convicts', 'miners' or 'protesters', some ambiguity remains. These terms may also evoke female or non-White peoples to students who are familiar with stories of female and non-White convicts, male and female miners from China, India, Africa or South America on the Australian gold fields, and/or male and female Aboriginal protesters. However, by augmenting the narrative with images, the subject is made explicit, whether the normative White male or alternatively gendered and/or raced peoples. These depictions preclude the diversity of interpretations possible in the absence of images. As discussed in this chapter, without exception textbook images disproportionately portray identified and generic Whites, with the overwhelmingly majority of identified actors being White males. These results suggest that the White male continues to be positioned as the normative Australian.

Constructions of whiteness as normative are augmented by the siloing of images related to Aborigines and other non-Whites from the main body of texts so that non-Whites are positioned as other to normative whiteness. Moreover, siloing reduces the potential impact of disruptive images, suggesting that my figures for these images may be overstated. In addition, while I classified images on the basis of their disruptive potential, research has demonstrated that Whites utilise numerous strategies to deny racially uncomfortable information (Frankenberg 1993). For example, Whites have long been reconciled to the reality of Aboriginal presence while simultaneously ignoring that presence and asserting their/our sovereignty (Elder 2007). Hence, potentially disruptive images may not be disruptive in practice.

Textbook content also changed over the period of my research, at times reflecting changes to the wider socio-political milieu. Whereas texts prior to the 1990s focused predominantly on pre-twentieth century history, from the 1990s onwards texts have approximately equal coverage of the pre- and post-1900 eras (see Chart Two, page 80). The increased reporting of twentieth century history was accompanied by a new pattern of publishing Australian history as two separate texts with twentieth century history covered in a separate text. Consequently, the increased coverage of twentieth century history did not necessitate a reduction in pre-twentieth century history and had no apparent impact on my content analysis results.

In contrast, changes to the proportion of textbook content representing White and non-White topics shows some correlation with my content analysis results. From the 1980s onwards, an increase in chapters on non-Whites and the subsequent omission of some White topics resulted in a marked decrease in the proportion of White to non-White content (see Chart Three, page 81). The reduction in White content and increase in non-White content in the 1980s mirrors the reduction in affirming images and increased in disruptive images in this decade. However, further reductions in White content in subsequent decades are not replicated by my content analysis. For example, texts from the 2000s omit the White 'discovery' and 'exploration' of the continent, thereby omitting this method of extolling White exceptionalism. The omission of these topics avoids a contradictory element of earlier texts in which Aborigines were recognised as first Australians initially but subsequently erased in discourses of White 'discovery' and 'exploration'. These texts evidence a lessening in what Foster (1999, 264) terms the 'mentioning' approach to diversity: the inclusion of new material while leaving the original content and organising framework unaltered. I expected this rejection of White exceptionalism to be reflected in my content analysis by a reduction in the proportion of images which affirm whiteness. However, affirming images remained relatively stable in this decade, with a slight rise rather than an anticipated fall: although whiteness is affirmed less effusively, it is affirmed nonetheless.

Similarly, my content analysis fails to reflect changes to the twentieth-century content of texts published in the 2000s. In these texts chapters on the Depression and Australian politics are discarded while coverage of world history is reduced. The former chapters focus solely on Whites so that omitting these chapters lessens White solipsism and constructions of whiteness as normative, while the reduction in content on world history limits constructions of non-Whites as other. In contrast, these texts incorporate increased content on contemporary Aboriginality and non-White immigration in chapters on post-1945 Australia which, notwithstanding their limitations, construct Australia as racially and culturally diverse. In spite of these seemingly substantial changes, my content analysis results for texts published in the 2000s remain similar to previous decades. This suggests that, as in the case of White exceptionalism, I overrated the impact of these changes in terms of affirming and disrupting whiteness. These examples illustrate one of the strengths of content analysis: the ability to temper researchers from placing undue emphasis on some data while overlooking other data (Lutz & Collins 1993, 89). These examples also intimate that in spite of seemingly genuine attempts to omit overt constructions of

White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency and incorporate more balanced representations of Whites and non-Whites in textbook narratives, whiteness remains affirmed implicitly.

A diagrammatic representation of the themes I identify in my content analysis which affirm or disturb whiteness, outlined on pages 55-57, are shown in Chart Four. These themes are White and non-White possession, White inundation and non-White presence, progress and problems of modernity, White and non-White deficiency and White and non-White perspectives.

Affirming images are categorised as two types – those that affirm White normativity directly and those that affirm whiteness by othering non-Whites. The former category includes images which reinscribe White possession, disproportionately represent Whites (inundation) or centre White perspectives. The latter category comprises overtly disparaging images of non-Whites. Although siloing and racialisation also affirm whiteness by othering non-Whites, for the purposes of categorisation as affirming or disturbing, these practices were overruled in favour of non-White presence. Similarly, integration – the inclusion of non-Whites throughout the text rather than being siloed in particular chapters – was omitted from my classification of images.

Disruptive images are separated into three categories – (non-disparaging) non-White presence, problems of modernity and anti-racism. Images were classified as anti-racist if they portrayed non-White possession or White deficiency. Additional anti-racist features such as images which depict non-White agency or non-Whites as individuals rather than members of a racialised group were subsumed under non-White presence.

The above themes are evident in amplified form in my analysis of textbook narratives. Based on Zacharias' (2004, 445) assertion that images perform their function without the need for reflection, I categorised images based on my initial impressions. In contrast, narratives were analysed more intensely, facilitating a more nuanced interpretation of the practices deployed. I now turn to this analysis.

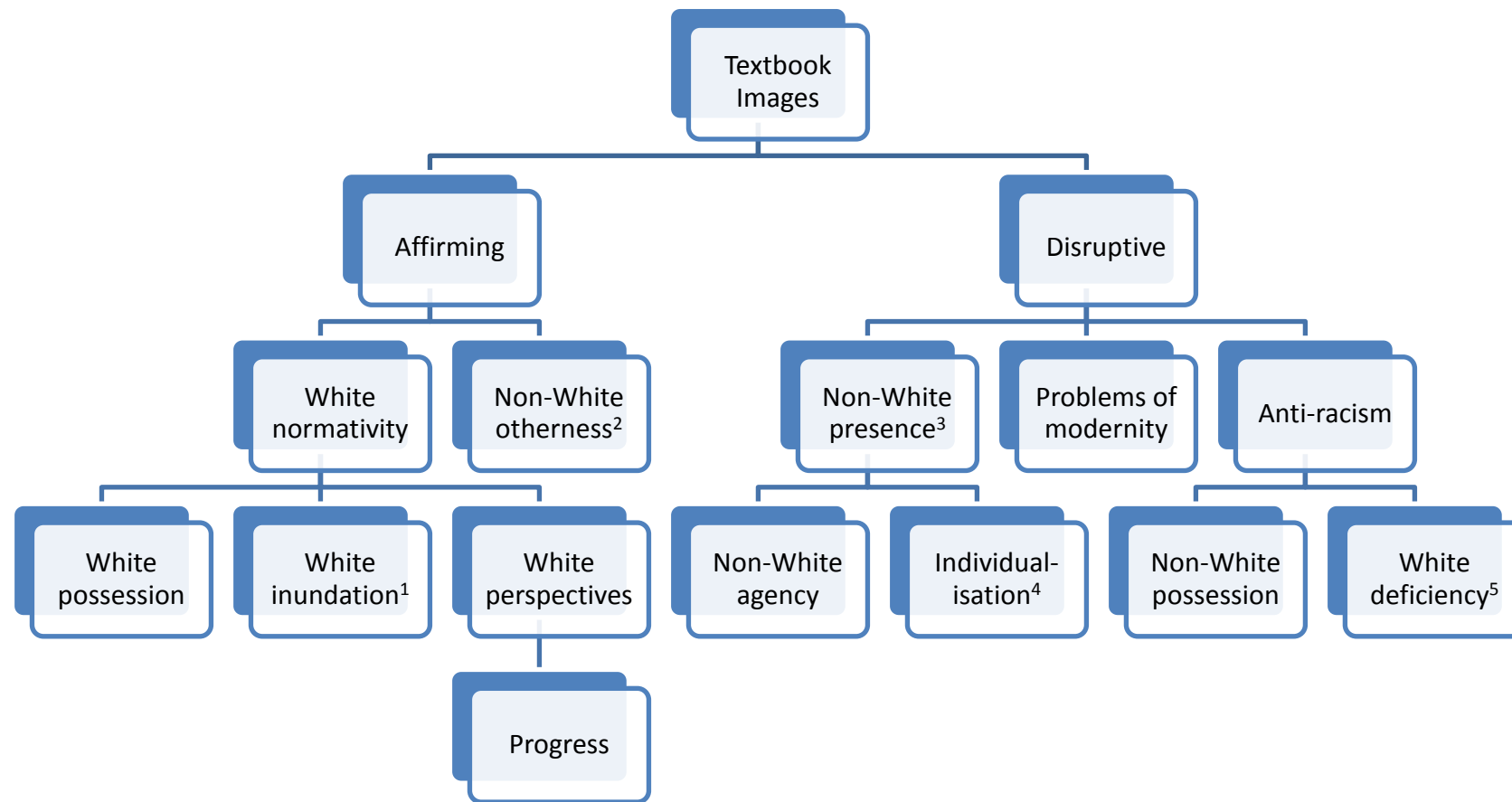


Chart 4: Affirming and disruptive textbook images

1. **White inundation:** disproportionate portrayal of Whites
2. **Non-White otherness:** disparaging images of non-Whites. Non-Whites are also positioned as 'other' by siloing and racialisation. However, for the purposes of classification into affirming or disruptive images, these practices were overruled by non-White presence
3. **Non-White presence:** non-disparaging images of non-Whites
4. **Individualisation:** an absence of racialisation, whereby non-Whites are positioned as individuals rather than members of a racial group
5. **White deficiency:** images which portray Whites negatively

Chapter Five: Narratives of Aboriginality

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse constructions of Aboriginality in textbooks, focusing on what these constructions reveal about the White ideologies which inform them. Narratives of Aboriginality encompass White conceptions of what White children should know about Aborigines. These narratives erase Aboriginal children as readers of the texts. According to Mills (1997, 19), whiteness is characterised by 'misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion and self-deception on matters related to race'. In the context of Aboriginality, misunderstanding and misrepresentation is amplified by the social segregation of Aborigines and non-Aborigines in Australia (Goot & Rowse 2007; Walter 2009). As Langton (cited Bradford 2007, 10) argues, '[non-Aboriginal] Australians do not know and relate to Aboriginal people. They relate to stories told by former colonists'. Moreover, conceptions of Aboriginality which constitute these stories were largely formed prior to colonisation (Stanner 1979). Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, 401) concur, stating that Whites 'have created their own Indigenous Australian past based on their colonial imagination'. Hence, for the majority of Whites, knowledge of Aborigines is constituted from truth claims in popular and institutional discourse, rather than personal experience. As such, ignorance is a defining feature of White discourses of Aboriginality in which 'the socially communicated and shared set of "facts" about blackness displaces and substitutes for the real human beings it purports to represent' (Steyn 2012, 14). In this chapter, White ignorance is demonstrated by highlighting misinformation in Australian histories, some of which is unchanged from colonial times.

Initially I examine constructions of Aboriginality in the social studies sets in my sample, focusing on discourses of non-White deficiency and White exceptionalism produced by constructions of civilisation and savagery. The overt construction of Aborigines as other in these texts differs markedly from history texts. As such, these narratives provide a useful reference point from which to investigate their discursive reproduction in the remaining texts which, whether labelled history, SOSE or humanities, all adopt a broadly similar historical format. After analysing the relatively subtle reproduction of constructions of civilisation and savagery in history texts, I analyse discourses of non-White otherness and White exceptionalism in representations of conflict with 'explorers'. Finally, I analyse these discourses in narratives of frontier violence in my entire sample. I argue that, over the period of my sample, different discursive themes prevail.

Structural changes

There is a temporal pattern regarding the Aboriginal content in the history texts in my sample. The predominant discourses of otherness deployed vary in accordance with these structural changes. With the exception of *Colony to Nation*, in texts prior to the late 1970s, rather than being discussed as a specific topic, Aborigines are merely mentioned sporadically in particular incidents deemed relevant to the narrative of White history, generally interactions with White 'explorers'. While seemingly random, Aborigines are consistently mentioned in some topics, such as White 'exploration', while omitted in others, such as economic development. Moreover, the particular incidents which are included are reproduced fairly consistently. As elaborated in the forthcoming section on conflict with 'explorers' (see page 132), in these portrayals discourses of deficiency are deployed in which Aborigines are represented as primitive, savage and inferior to Whites. Broome (1996, 56) concurs, noting that, 'Aborigines received scant attention [in Australian histories], except as troublesome characters to explorers from Cook to Kennedy'. The absence of background information in this era of 'the great Australian silence' (Stanner 2009, 189) suggests assumptions of shared understandings of Aboriginality between authors and readers, rendering additional information redundant. In these texts, ignorance is primarily manufactured through absence of information. Moreover, the little information which is presented is often factually incorrect.

From the late 1970s all the texts in my sample that cover pre-twentieth century history include an initial section on Aborigines. This structure extends the chronology of Australian history to encompass pre-colonial Australia and frames Aborigines as 'First Australians'. However, inserting these chapters has minimal effect on the remainder of the text; earlier texts' overall exclusion of Aborigines supplemented by sporadic mentioning remains largely unchanged. The content of the initial 'Aboriginal' chapters varies. Prior to the 1990s these chapters deploy pseudo-anthropological discourses to discuss pre-colonial Aboriginal life. Whereas discourses of deficiency frame Aborigines as ignoble savages, discourses of anthropology adopt the romantic discourse of noble savagery (Muecke 1992). However, both discourses locate authentic Aboriginality in the past, in an evolutionary 'cul-de-sac' (Spencer 2014, 21), rendering contemporary Aboriginality oxymoronic (Muecke 2004) and creating an unbridgeable chasm between Aborigines and contemporary (White) readers. These discourses are supplemented by discourses of difference: non-disparaging, non-hierarchical constructions of difference; discourses of disregard: constructions of indifference, especially to

Aboriginal suffering and discourses of paternalism: constructions of superiority established by framing Whites as benevolent authorities. All of these discourses of otherness position Aborigines as other, objectified by the White gaze. To some extent the various discourses overlap. Their framing as discrete categories is an analytical construct.

From the 1990s, there is a lessening of the anthropological and paternalistic gaze. Rather than a study of the other, narratives of Aboriginality in these texts provide background information from which to interpret the impact of colonisation, with some representation of Aboriginal perspectives. Anti-racist discourses of White deficiency (White racism and/or ignorance), non-White possession and non-White agency contest discourses of non-White deficiency and difference and White exceptionalism. Nevertheless, discourses of otherness persist, albeit more subtly. For example, Aborigines continue to be positioned as other to normative Australianness. Siloing is implicated in this regard. Rather than being limited to the pre-colonisation era, initial 'Aboriginal' chapters also cover post-colonisation Aboriginal history such as frontier conflict and the 'protection' era when Aborigines were forced to live on missions or reserves. At the same time, other topics such as 'exploration' which previously incorporated some Aboriginal content are omitted (see Table Nine, page 198). Consequently, Aborigines are more firmly siloed in the initial chapter, notwithstanding attempts in some texts to mention Aborigines in chapters on national identity (see Chapter Seven). Content on contemporary Aborigines is also included in some texts covering twentieth century history published from the late 1960s onwards, typically as the final chapter in the text. In these chapters occasional links are drawn between the present status of Aborigines and post-colonial experiences. These sections are less frequent in the earlier decades of my sample but become a standard inclusion from the 1980s. Once again, Aborigines are almost totally absent from the other 'non-Aboriginal' chapters of these texts. Regardless of the content of these 'Aboriginal' chapters, siloing functions to position Aborigines as other to normative (White) Australianness. These points are elaborated in Chapter Seven.

The social studies texts in my sample have a different structure to history texts, but nevertheless position Aborigines as inherently different to White Australians. Both my social studies sets have anthropological-style sections on Aborigines of a similar format to the initial chapters in post-1970s history texts. In contrast to history texts' positioning of Aborigines as First Australians however, in social studies texts these

chapters function to highlight primitiveness, or deficiency. In addition to these sections, social studies texts duplicate history texts' sporadic but predictable commentary on Aborigines in colonial times.

Civilisation & savagery

Justifications for the colonising mission rest on two taken-for-granted assumptions underpinned by White exceptionalism: firstly, that the 'civil and polite customs of Europe' (Windschuttle 2002, 32) are inherently superior to Aboriginal cultures, and secondly, that progress and development are unequivocally beneficial. These claims depend on juxtaposing civilisation with savagery, with civilisation equated with British culture and progress, and Aboriginal cultures occupying the residual category of savagery. In other words, 'we' are civilised, while 'they' are not. According to Mills (2007, 27), '[c]oncepts orient us to the world'. Buchan and Heath (2006, 6-7) aver that the concepts of civilisation and savagery are not 'mere descriptions of social facts ... but rather, discursive constructions implicated in colonial projects'. Similarly, arguing that the concept savagery has assumptions of innate inferiority embedded within it, Mills (2007, 27) contends that 'the term itself encourages if not quite logically determines particular conclusions'. Savagery acts as a foil for civilisation; British virtue is constructed in opposition to Aboriginal deficiency, furnishing colonisation with a benevolent and progressive mantle and reinforcing convictions of White exceptionalism. The exploitative imperative for colonisation is obscured by this humanitarian façade (Day 2005, 12). As Bradford (2007, 13) explains, although colonisation was justified by civilising claims, '[i]n truth ... it was built on the desire for land and ... resources (minerals, timber, soil for farming)'.

Contrary to Bradford's construction however, civilising claims cannot be neatly relegated to a past era. Windschuttle's (2002) recent attempts to legitimise British colonisation, for example, construct civilisation as a gift to degenerate and dysfunctional Aborigines. This sentiment is echoed by fellow Quadrant authors Howson (1999) and Marsh (1999) to justify Aboriginal child removal in the current era. Both authors claim that Aboriginal children were 'rescued' from depraved environments, rather than being 'stolen'. In contrast to these authors' overt use of the language of civilisation and savagery however, in contemporary debates these concepts are usually evoked with more subtlety (Buchan & Heath 2006, 6). These changes in the deployment of civilisation and savagery over time are mirrored in textbooks. Whereas the earlier texts in my sample (social studies texts) explicitly

contrast civilisation with savagery in order to promote White exceptionalism, these concepts are reproduced more subtly in later (history) texts. A further development in recent texts is the incorporation of anti-racist discourses of White deficiency and non-White possession and agency to contest the mythos of savagery and deficiency. Central to constructions of civilisation is the idea of a hierarchy of social progress with White civilisation positioned at the pinnacle of this hierarchy and alternate social forms, such as pre-colonial Aboriginal societies, at the nadir. From this perspective, progress and development are framed as a gift to non-Whites (Leonardo 2009, 94). Correcting misinformation challenges this hierarchy, not only dislodging civilised White societies from their superior location, but also contesting the idea of progress as unequivocally beneficial. Consequently, challenges to the tropes of civilisation and savagery in textbooks are accompanied by concomitant challenges to the progress narrative and a lessening of overt White exceptionalism.

Social studies texts

My sample comprises two social studies sets: Williams' *Out of the Mist, Books One-Two* (1952-1956) and Brown and Hunt's *Social Studies for Secondary Schools, Books One and Two* (1962-3). Both social studies sets deploy discourses of White exceptionalism in combination with discourses of non-White deficiency to establish a hierarchical distinction between 'us' and 'them'. These texts overtly reproduce eighteenth-century notions of civilisation as the difference between Europeans and savages (White 1981, 4). Indeed, the subtitle of *Out of the Mist, Book One* – '[t]he story of man's emergence from the mists of savagery' – evinces the centrality of these tropes to this text. Civilisation is framed as the outcome of a 'long, upward climb' with civilised societies positioned as the apogee (*Book One* 1952, 70). The indicators of civilisation – permanent dwellings, agriculture, industry, arts, trade and government (*Book One* 1952, 26) – ensure it is equated with White, industrialised societies. *Out of the Mist's* veneration of civilisation and industrial progress is evident in the following extract in which felling trees at Sydney Cove in 1788 signals the onset of industrialisation:

The sound of the axe in that very thick wood was but the forerunner of a multiplicity of noises – the sounds of roaring trains, whirring planes, chugging steamers, and purring cars. It ushered in the era of speed and development; it began a period of experiments and scientific wonders. It sounded the trumpet for the start of a mighty pageant – the pageant of civilisation spreading throughout a land which had previously been in a backwash of the world.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 66

In this extract, industrial progress and civilisation are unambiguously valorised in emotive language. In contrast non-industrial (non-White) societies are treated with contempt as demonstrated by the description of Australia prior to British colonisation as a 'backwash'. This steadfast veneration is undisturbed despite fleeting acknowledgement of not inconsequential adverse aspects to industrial civilisation:

[I]n spite of some horrible inventions, shocking cruelty and inferior standards of conduct, the [White] civilisation that man has slowly built up is a wonderful achievement.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 181-2

This extract, from the final pages of *Book One*, identifies deleterious aspects of industrial civilisation seemingly only to negate their significance. The 'horrible inventions, shocking cruelty and inferior standards of conduct' referred to are not elaborated; neither are they a summary of ideas raised previously in the text. It seems likely that, in this post-World War II text, they refer to Nazi atrocities, in particular the application of industrialised slaughter to humans (Bauman 1989). Regardless, civilisation is eulogised rather than evaluated. Moreover, other adverse results of industrialisation such as the social upheaval and environmental destruction inherent to urbanisation are ignored. The contempt shown to non-industrial (non-White) in comparison to industrialised societies is mirrored in the distinction made between putatively civilised and primitive peoples. As shown in the second extract, whiteness is positioned as synonymous with civilisation:

Some tribes are still Stone Age people, for they have been left behind in the march of civilisation. Examples of modern races that have been discovered still living like the first men are the Tasmanian Aborigines, the Bushmen of South Africa, the Negrito Hill-folk of Central New Guinea and the Andamanese of the Andaman Islands.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 4

When white settlers came to Tasmania they found one of the most primitive races in the world, and, as often happens when the civilised meet the primitive, annihilated them.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 4

[M]any of the hunters and fishers are the lowest races known to us.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 10

In these extracts, civilised Whites are contrasted with Stone Age, primitive ‘tribes’ who are the ‘lowest races known to us’. This phrase is bolstered by others, such as ‘left behind’ and ‘still living like the first men’, to impute a moral and hierarchical dimension to the forward movement, or progress, of civilisation. These extracts are discourses of deficiency which position ‘them’ as other and inferior to ‘us’. The dehumanisation inherent to these discourses is evident in the nonchalant depiction of annihilation of the palawa. In contrast, civilisation functions to assert White exceptionalism. These opposing constructions reproduce a Darwinian hierarchy of races (Reynolds 2000) in which Whites comprise the highest strata and Tasmanian Aborigines (palawa) the lowest. In this series of texts written for Tasmanian students, the palawa are explicitly positioned below even the ‘backwash-dwelling’ mainland Aborigines:

We must be careful, however, to distinguish them from the frizzy-haired Tasmanians who had not made even as much progress as the Australians towards mastering their environment. *Out of the Mist, Book Two* 1956, 14

The use of ‘Tasmanians’ and ‘Australians’ to refer to Aborigines evidences the antediluvian nature of this text. These terms had been largely superseded and whitened in the public lexicon by the late nineteenth-century (White 1981, 10). This extract is a discourse of anthropology which functions to objectify and racialise Aborigines. The use of physical markers, such as ‘frizzy-haired’ to indicate Aboriginality functions to racialise Aborigines, as do pseudo- biological descriptions of Aborigines as ‘full-blooded’ or ‘half-castes’ (*Social Science for Secondary Schools* 1964, 70). Descriptions of Aboriginal physical attributes, food, technology (‘artefacts’) and culture objectify Aborigines while bolstering the façade of White expertise. References to White physical features, food, technology and culture are absent. Nevertheless, they remain an invisible backdrop to discourses of anthropology, against which the difference of the other is contrasted (Castagno 2013, 102). Evaluated against this unmarked and unnamed norm, incommensurability between the White observer and the Aboriginal other is emphasised, rendering mutuality between ‘us’ and ‘them’ inconceivable.

Discourses of otherness are evident in the use of the pronouns which position the readers of the texts and those discussed in the as ‘we/our/us’ or ‘they/their/them’ respectively. Whereas ‘we/our/us’ assumes a White reader (Bradford 2001, 11; Gale 2004, 326; Hage 1998; Riggs 2004, 3; Sunderland 2007, 63), Aborigines and other non-

Whites are referred to as 'they/their/them'. These pronouns erase Aborigines as readers of the texts:

Although the aborigines managed to exist, they did not progress as we think people should ... It is our duty to respect their ideas, to teach them the best of our civilisation, and to safeguard them from the poorer features of our life. They belong to the human race; they are our brothers.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 15

Over the period of my research, evocations of difference via constructions of Aborigines as 'they' in opposition to 'us' are markedly reduced. Overall texts from the 1970s onwards use the term 'a/Aborigines' rather than 'they/them'. Nevertheless, exceptions persist. For example, subheadings in the chapter 'Aborigines alone' in *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1984) include '[h]ow they lived', '[w]hat they believed' and '[h]ow do we know?'. Similar constructions of a unified 'us' as distinct from an homogenous 'them' are also evident in the 1990s text *Voices from the Past*:

Aborigines have lived in Australia for thousands of years ... However, they did not have any written records. How, then, do we know what their lives were like?

Voices from the Past 1994, 6

While constructions such as these are largely avoided in Jacaranda texts published in the 2000s, a unit in *Humanities Alive 3's* (2006, 4-5) 'First Australians' chapter is titled '[t]he way they were'. Nevertheless, examples such as these are exceptional for post-1960s texts. For example, the title '[t]he way they were' is not used in any of the other Jacaranda texts in my sample and is amended to '[s]eeds of conflict' in the second edition of *Humanities Alive 3* (2010, 6-7).

The extract above is a discourse of paternalism in which Aborigines are again positioned as inferior to the White expert, albeit without the element of derision evident in discourses of deficiency. This extract demonstrates Dyer's (1997, 13) assertion that White portrayals of blackness implacably reduce the non-White subject to being a function of the White subject. The White gaze is evident in constructing 'us' as appraisers while 'they' are objects under evaluation.

The other social studies set in my sample, *Social Studies for Secondary Schools (SSSS)*, echoes *Out of the Mist* in its use of discourses of deficiency, anthropology and paternalism. Non-White deficiency is again contrasted with White exceptionalism

and progress in the following extract from a new chapter in the second edition of *Book One* in which 'primitive, naked savages' are positioned at one end of a spectrum with 'educated, refined, elegantly-dressed men and women' at the other. The progress attributed to people is mirrored by agricultural and industrial advances, all of which are constructed as unequivocally beneficial:

Human progress is to a large extent the story of man's efforts to control and change his natural environment so that he will be able to satisfy his wants more fully ... History ... is the story of how, through his inventions and discoveries man has changed himself and his surroundings. Primitive, naked savages have been replaced by educated, refined, elegantly-dressed men and women; and in place of forest wastes, wild animals, crude windbreaks and digging sticks and stone axes, we find orchards, luxuriant crops, lush fields, flocks and herds, great cities and pulsating machines. *SSSS, Book One, Second Edition 1964, 11*

White solipsism is evident in the constructions of wants as unlimited and the benefits of progress, including agriculture, as self-evident. The concept of unlimited wants amidst scarce resources is framed as inherent to the human condition. However, this idea is a construct of market economies. Remaining unaware of the particularity of their social location, the authors transpose their solipsistic understanding of 'economic man' onto hunter-gatherer economies. The distortion inherent in this perspective is highlighted by Sahlins (1974, 2) who contrasted market economies with what he terms 'Stone Age economies', asserting that in the latter, 'human material needs are finite and few'. From the perspective in which the desire for progress is self-evident, Aborigines are framed as deficient for 'failing' to progress:

Stone Age men strove continually to improve their tools and weapons and to find new ways of using their environment so that they would be able to lead more comfortable lives. Many, however, achieved but little, and remained as backward as the Australian aborigine of 1788. *SSSS, Book One 1962, 77*

As certain meanings are constructed through discourse, alternative meanings are necessarily precluded (Foucault 1990, 27). Viable alternatives to settled agriculture are precluded by positioning uncultivated land as 'forest wastes', evidencing the tunnel-vision of White solipsism in which White norms are uncritically regarded as superior. In contrast, Broome (2010, 8 emphasis in original) recommends inverting the question of why Aborigines did not develop agriculture to ask 'why *should* they

have?'. Contrasting the land degradation caused by just over 200 years of White farming practices in Australia with sustainable Aboriginal land management that flourished for over 40 millennia, Broome (2010, 9) critiques the notion that agriculture is a superior economy.

Also evident in the extract above is the triumphant progress narrative inherent to discourses of White exceptionalism. This narrative precludes recognition of any adverse effects of White agricultural practices or industrialisation, such as environment destruction, pollution and alienation. Similarly, primitiveness is contrasted with education. In this sense, education is synonymous with western education so that people who have not been exposed to this particular educational experience are precluded from consideration as educated. In contrast to *Out of the Mist* however, the distinction between primitive and industrial societies in this extract is not necessarily racialised. Because it is preceded in the text by discussion of both pre-modern Europe and '*primitive races that still exist*' (*Book One* 1964, 11 emphasis in original), the extract could be interpreted as referring to either. Regardless, in comparison to primitive life, industrial society is again positioned as the optimum stage of progress. As members of industrial society, students exposed to these texts are educated in White exceptionalism.

Discourses of deficiency and anthropology explicitly construct Aborigines as primitive in both books of *Social Studies for Secondary Schools*. In *Book One*, Aborigines are one of five peoples discussed in a chapter titled 'Primitive hunters and food gatherers of today'. In this chapter, '[w]ild, tribal aborigines' are described as having 'made little or no contact with civilised people' (1964, 64). Following various pseudo-anthropological, objectifying accounts regarding '[w]here they live' (1964, 64), '[t]heir appearance' (1964, 66-7) and '[h]ow they live' (1964, 67-9), a succinct summary of Aborigines is given under the heading '[a] very primitive people':

Australia's tribal aborigines are in an early New Stone Age state of development. Although they make stone axes, they have no permanent homes, and neither grow crops nor keep herds. They have not yet reached the standard of civilisation that was attained in Sumeria and Egypt more than six thousand years ago.

SSSS, *Book One, Second Edition* 1964, 69

Echoing *Out of the Mist*, this extract imputes a ranking to different ways of living with Aborigines positioned as deficient due to the absence of signifiers of progress – White homes and farming methods. The use of the present tense in this extract

reveals that the authors sustain a mistaken belief in Aboriginal culture as monolithic, timeless and unchanging (Carter 2006, 72). The remainder of this section in *Book One* continues to subject Aborigines to the White gaze. After noting that '[m]any full-blooded aborigines and half-castes obtain jobs. They like to work and earn money for themselves' (1964, 70), the student reader is positioned as a paternalistic expert:

Nevertheless, there are some aboriginal men and women who apparently have no desire to improve themselves. What is to be done with these people? Should we make them and their children learn our ways of living, or should we allow them, as far as possible, to continue living the life of their ancestors in the hope that their outlook will gradually change through contact with more advanced people?

SSSS, *Book One, Second Edition* 1964, 70

The use of 'we/our' in contrast to 'them/their' in this extract positions the texts' audience as White. Aborigines are constructed as objects of study and precluded from consideration as potential readers of the text. The phrases '[s]hould we make them' and 'should we allow them' evidence a discourse of paternalism in which language operates as a 'technology of problematisation and marginalisation' (Hage 1998, 242), replete with uncritical acceptance of White authority and expertise. Although the derision inherent to discourses of deficiency is absent, discourses of paternalism cultivate the hubris which upholds White exceptionalism. Armed with a miniscule amount of information, the White reader is positioned as an authority by being invited to comment (ostensibly benignly) on the other. Reflecting the White Australian context in which it was produced, this passage unequivocally links Aboriginal improvement with assimilation to 'our ways of living'. In comparison to the construction of Aborigines as 'primitive', 'our way of living' is civilised and 'advanced'; assumptions of White superiority remain uncontested.

Book Two of Social Studies for Secondary Schools also deploys discourses of deficiency to frame Aborigines as primitive, reproducing *Out of the Mist's* distinction between the New Stone Age mainland Aborigines and the Old Stone Age palawa (1963, 52). Jaded observations of seventeenth and eighteenth century European explorers are recycled uncritically, augmenting the portrayal of Aborigines as 'wild, cruel, black savages' and 'utter barbarians' (1963, 52). Having established Aborigines as deficient, admiration is shown for those who compare favourably to Whites:

Some aborigines showed that they had sufficient intelligence and strength to be able to do what white men could do ... In fact, the Australian aborigines have

always been superior to the white men in their ability to 'live off the land'.

SSSS, *Book Two* 1963, 55

White exceptionalism is revealed by the suggestion that being 'able to do what white men could do' is noteworthy. Although apparently recognising Aboriginal ability, this extract reinforces rather than disrupts discourses of deficiency. Remarking on the commensurability or superiority of '[s]ome' Aborigines to Whites reinforces Aborigines' overall subordinate status. Moreover, superiority is restricted to ability to 'live off the land', reinscribing savagery. As Carter (2006, 70) notes, this 'was a trait of primitive societies'. In contrast, Whites are positioned as intrinsically civilised by claiming that Aborigines have '*always* been superior to the white men in their ability to "live off the land"' (my emphasis), thereby erasing Whites' history as hunter-gatherers in Europe. A similar passage in *Out of the Mist* is even less generous, constructing Aborigines as 'very low in intelligence' with the exception of the ability to 'exist' without the benefits of civilisation:

We usually regard our aborigines as being very low in intelligence but we must remember that they showed sufficient intelligence to exist in a land where nature had not been as kind as in other places. In earlier days many white men lost their lives in parts of the continent where aborigines managed to live. In fact, these poor people adapted themselves to their environment in a fairly satisfactory way – if not according to our standards, at least according to theirs.

Out of the Mist, *Book Two* 1956, 14

While crediting Aborigines with 'sufficient' intelligence to live as savages, this extract ensures that the life portrayed is far from idyllic. Rather than thriving, Aborigines 'exist'. Although 'fairly satisfactory', relative to 'us' this existence is substandard. The begrudging respect shown reflects the inability to comprehend how 'these poor people ... managed to live' in an environment which, from the unmarked White perspective, is unreservedly inhospitable. The contrast between Aborigines experience of being at home in the Australian environment and British colonisers' experience of this environment as alien and inhospitable unsettles notions of White belonging. As Elder (2007, 151) states, '[n]on-Indigenous peoples understood that Indigenous peoples' knowledge signified a deep belonging they could not match'. From this perspective, discourses of non-White deficiency can be seen as an attempt to manage the threat to White belonging.

The social studies texts in my sample evidence a White perspective which, viewed through a contemporary lens, is striking in its ignorance, solipsism and hubris. These attributes are cultivated in students exposed to these texts. A further remarkable feature of social studies texts are their adherence to the Enlightenment narrative of progress and promulgation of White exceptionalism. These texts support Buchan and Heath's (2006, 6-7) contention that the concepts of civilisation and savagery are not disinterested descriptions of social reality but discursive constructions implicated in colonial projects. These constructions underpin a self-serving racial hierarchy within which White civilisation is positioned at the apex and Aboriginal society at the base. By contrasting savagery with civilisation, progress narratives are bolstered, manufacturing White exceptionalism and Aboriginal deficiency. Rather than a reliable representation of Aboriginality, these texts disseminate White mythology about Aborigines constructed 'in their absence' (Beckett 1988, 192).

History/SOSE/Humanities texts

In contrast to social studies texts, civilisation and savagery are not explicitly discussed in the Australian history texts in my sample. Although progress and White exceptionalism remain themes in triumphalist texts, rather than being explicitly venerated these themes tend to be implicit in the celebratory tone of the narrative and the focus on development. The focus of history texts is restricted to the political and economic development of Australia by Whites rather than social studies' broader theme of overall human progress since the Stone Age. Due to this different focus, there is no impetus to construct savagery as a foil for civilisation. Rather than being omitted entirely however, constructions of civilisation and savagery are reproduced more subtly, with change evident over the period of my sample.

Discourses of deficiency, difference, disregard, anthropology and paternalism function to reinscribe notions of innate and irreconcilable difference between racial groups in which ranking is implicit, maintaining a racial hierarchy in the absence of explicit claims of White superiority. Prior to the late 1970s, deficiency is evoked by recycling European explorers' disparaging appraisals which frame Aborigines as wild and hostile, deploying anthropological discourses of nomadic hunter-gathering which link Aborigines inexorably with nature and/or minimising Aboriginal achievement. These limited representations of Aboriginality reinscribe White superiority. In post-1970s histories constructions of otherness undergo a further transformation. To varying degrees, these histories question colonisation and the progress narrative, rendering the previously perceived need to contrast civilisation

with savagery in order to support the progress narrative redundant. Indeed, some of these texts challenge the constructions themselves via discourses of anti-racism. The rhetorical devices deployed to implicitly reproduce a racial hierarchy are discussed in turn, showing continuities or change over the period of my sample.

Essentialised difference

A multitude of rhetorical devices position Aborigines as essentially different to normative whiteness. Indeed, the very act of commenting on the other functions to create the distinction between 'us' and 'them' that it appears to merely describe. For example, seventeenth-century European explorers' appraisals of Aborigines are recycled in many texts, positioning Aborigines as objects of, and thus distinct from, the White gaze, as other to normative subjects. The contemptuous tone of these comments frames Aborigines as deficient. The most frequently cited appraisal is Dampier's uncomprehending opinion of Aborigines as 'the miserablest people in the world'. This phrase is recycled uncritically in all but two of the texts in my sample covering pre-Federation history (see Table Five, page 131). None of these texts position this remark within its context: Dampier's chagrin at failing to find wealth suitable for plunder and his inability to convince Aborigines to labour for his benefit. However, as White (1981, 3) notes, with no commodities suitable for trade, it is unsurprising that Dampier stressed the country's barrenness and the people's nakedness. Some texts include Dampier's remark as an example of the way Whites used to think, implicitly suggesting this is no longer the case. Without any explicit critique however, recycling this phrase arguably reinscribes the sentiment behind it. Although more considered and respectful representations of Aborigines are present in the writings of other European explorers, such as Cook (see Broome 2010, 14), these are usually excluded in favour of Dampier's opinion. Dampier's status is also frequently elevated by framing him as a respectable sea captain rather than a pirate. *Colony to Nation* is the only text which contests European explorers' opinions. Subsequent to citing Dampier's remark and Carstenz' description of Aborigines as 'utter barbarians', the authors (1960, 9) state that '[t]oday we know much more about aboriginal art and culture which causes us to have a different opinion from these early explorers'. Although extremely mild, *Colony to Nation's* censure of these initial White impressions of Aboriginality is, nevertheless, exceptional in my sample. In the remaining texts, these opinions are reproduced uncritically, highlighting and thus reinscribing difference between 'us' and 'them'. In addition, Aborigines prior to European contact are portrayed as living uncomfortable, primitive lives so that

British colonisation becomes an unalloyed good (Day 2005, 12) or, in Buchan and Heath's (2006, 11) phrase, a progressive gesture.

Although *Colony to Nation* is a history text, it is distinct from the remaining histories in my sample in its reproduction of many of the tropes of social studies texts. Its publication date, 1960, coincides with my social studies texts, suggesting that these tropes are indicative of the era rather than text genre. *Colony to Nation* is the only pre-1970s text in my sample to include a prefatory chapter on Aboriginal Australia. Whereas texts from the 1970s and after label this chapter 'First Australians' or similar however, its title in *Colony to Nation*, 'The days before history', reinscribes the civilised/primitive distinction of social studies texts. Further similarities include manufacturing a pseudo-scientific rationale for Aborigines' ostensibly primitive status by framing Aborigines as 'prehistoric' (1960, 3) and distinguishing the palawa from mainland Aborigines via the tropes of Old and New Stone Age (1960, 5). The White story of civilisation, based on agricultural development, is also recycled (1960, 9). This narrative, in which settled agriculture is unequivocally framed as an improvement on hunter-gatherer lifestyles, is premised on the false claim that settled agriculture inevitably results in a more secure economy thereby allowing more time for leisure, arts and crafts. This belief, which has been comprehensively refuted (see Sahlins 1974), reflects the hubris of White exceptionalism in which it is taken for granted that the White norm of settled agriculture is optimal.

Unlike the contrast between civilised 'us' and primitive 'them' in social studies texts however, *Colony to Nation* emphasises similarities. Whereas *SSSS (Book Two 1963, 55* my emphasis) claims that 'aborigines have *always* been superior to the white men in their ability to "live off the land"', *Colony to Nation* (1960, 9) notes that eight thousand years ago Aborigines and 'our own ancestors in Europe were living under very similar conditions, and knew little of pastoral life'. Similar reasoning is given in *The Land They Found* (1979, 4): 'Farming was unknown anywhere in the world when they migrated into Australia ...'. *Colony to Nation* (1960, 9) also explains the absence of settled agricultural development in pre-colonial Australia in comparison to other regions in terms of different geographic conditions and the unsuitability of Australia's endemic plants and animals to domestication (see Diamond 2012, 19). Nevertheless, by generalising the dominant form of Aboriginal economy, this explanation reproduces the mythology that pre-colonial Aborigines did not settle or farm. This mythos has since been refuted (see Builth 1998; Gammage 2011; Pascoe

2014). Generalisations such as these also reproduce White conceptions of a monolithic pan-Aboriginal culture.

Notwithstanding the explicit attempts in the above extracts to emphasise similarity, the pronouns 'our' and 'they' implicitly evoke difference. In contrast to discourses of deficiency, discourses of difference position Aborigines as other to normative whiteness without invoking a hierarchical relationship. Nevertheless, the plurality intimated by *Colony to Nation's* (1960, 9) phrase 'our own ancestors in Europe' quoted above evoke what Bradford (2001, 11) refers to as 'a unified readership carried along by a narrative which assumes that ... "we" share a common ideological ground', positioning both authors and audience as White. In contrast, the possessive 'our' as in *Colony to Nation's* (1960, 3) 'our Aborigines' establishes a binary opposition between 'we' who are positioned as citizens of the White nation and 'they' who are possessions of the nation (Nicoll 2004), thereby excluding Aborigines from normative Australian nationhood. This phrase only appears in the earliest texts in my sample (see *A Junior History* 1950, 116-117; *Out of the Mist, Book Two* 1956, 14). After being omitted for most of the 1960s through to the 1990s however, similar phrasing is resurrected in recent Jacaranda texts. For example, *SOSE 4* (1998, 70), *Humanities 3* (2007, 351) and *Humanities 4* (2008, 337) refer to Aborigines as 'Australia's indigenous people'. This phrase again positions Aborigines as possessions of the White nation. In contrast, referring to Aborigines as Aboriginal Australians (*Humanities 3* 2007, 76) is potentially unifying through creating an umbrella category of 'Australian' to which both Aborigines and non-Aborigines belong. This phrase is the closest any of the textbooks come to including Aborigines in the category of 'we/us'.

Discourses of difference are augmented by language which dehumanises and objectifies. In reference to Aborigines, the phrases 'killed off' and 'died out' are recycled in discourses of disregard which indicate dispassionate indifference and the devaluing of Aboriginal lives:

The Government put the natives, 203 all told, on Flinders Island in Bass Strait, where disease soon killed most of them off. *A Junior History* 1950, 75

Our own aborigines hardly count [in relation to keeping Australia white]. They are so few in number, keep to themselves and are fast dying out.

A Junior History 1950, 116-17

The Aborigines proved to be no problem, either, for they were simply killed off or died as they came into contact with the white man's diseases.

Landmarks 1969, 56

These discourses are reproduced as late as the 1990s in a second edition of the 1980s text, *Their Ghosts May be Heard*, in which Aborigines are described as being 'killed off' by a smallpox outbreak soon after colonisation (1984, 158; 1994, 189). Similarly, this text notes that, after being taken to Flinders Island, '[t]hey soon died out' (1984, 164; 1994, 196). The clinical detachment evident in these phrases is remarkable. Referring to the construction of humanity as composed of essentially different groups, Said (2003, preface) argues that the 'worst aspect ... is that human suffering in all its density and pain is spirited away'. Not only is the Aboriginal experience of fear, grief and suffering in the process of being 'simply killed off' not worthy of any comment, neither is there any disruption to the morality of the colonial project. Steyn (2012, 16) describes this as an education in ignorance: '... ignorance of other people's struggles, pain, joy and accomplishments, of their common human worth ...'. Foucault (1990, 27) contends that by framing events in a particular way, discourses exclude other possibilities. In this example, framing the decimation of Aborigines as a *fait accompli* renders further discussion of the situation futile. This is a key component of education in ignorance – to learn what is in one's interests not to know (McGoey 2012, 554).

Links with nature & savagery

Notwithstanding its rationale for the apparent lack of settled agriculture in Australia prior to colonisation (cited above), *Colony to Nation* attributes Aboriginal survival to the ability to 'live in comparative comfort' in 'nature', signalling savagery:

The mainland aborigines had worked out a form of culture peculiarly suited to their way of life. They had so come to terms with nature that they could live in comparative comfort in places where a modern white man, under the same conditions, could scarcely be expected to survive. *Colony to Nation* 1960, 9

As with the social studies texts above (see pages 117-118), the threat to White exceptionalism inherent in Aborigines outperforming Whites is managed by a discourse of deficiency that links Aboriginal accomplishment with the pejorative concept of savagery. In contrast, Whites are positioned as 'modern'. *Landmarks* also constructs Aborigines as innately associated with nature and uses that construction to support notions of a putative inability to adjust to White civilisation:

The Aborigines' association with nature meant that they could not accept the white man's way of life ... What was the point of training Aborigines to be agricultural labourers when thousands of years of instinct told them to go on walkabouts?
Landmarks 1969, 165

The representation of 'walkabouts' in this extract is an outstanding example of White ignorance which, nevertheless, positions Whites as knowledgeable and Aborigines as deficient. Misattributing seasonal migration to a pseudo-biological reason functions to construct Aborigines as animal-like and denies the environmental knowledge imperative for successful hunter-gatherer life. Although *Landmarks* is the only text in my sample to use the term 'walkabout', references to nomadism in other texts produce a similar effect:

[T]hey [palawa] wandered about from place to place, leading a nomadic life. Tribes were scattered over the island.
Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 5

Framing Aborigines as nomadic hunter-gatherers recalls the imagery of savagery in the absence of explicit constructions. Nomadic is a loaded term, which positions Aborigines as 'pristine, exotic, and ancient' (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007, 400), and objects of the White gaze. The term 'tribes' also evokes the concept of savagery implicit in hunter-gatherer lifestyles, while portraying Aborigines as 'scattered' augments the construction of these lifestyles as chaotic rather than ordered. These discourses of deficiency construct and naturalise distinctions between 'us' and 'them'.

Similar rhetorical devices are present in *A Map History*, with these constructions made more explicit in the third edition by the inclusion of an overt reference to hunter-gatherers and the first edition's intimation of land ownership removed:

They [Aborigines] originally lived in 500 tribal groups as nomads within their own, fixed tribal areas.
A Map History 1963, 39

At the time of white occupation they comprised about 500 tribal groups living as nomadic food-gatherers and hunters.
A Map History, Third Edition 1978, 41

Instead of the possibility that White knowledge may be incomplete, White hubris assumes that if Whites are ignorant of the reasons underlying nomadism, then no such reasons can exist, resulting in a distorted portrayal narrated with certainty. In

the following extracts Aborigines are depicted as 'constantly on the move', framing hunter-gatherer lifestyles as inherently precarious:

The people of this distinctive race were hunters and gatherers ... They were constantly on the move, following game or seeking new sources of plant food ...

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 6

In the struggle to gather food, tribes separated into small hunting bands, or clans, and wandered in different directions.

The Land They Found 1979, 5

Similar phrasing is evident in *Their Ghosts May be Heard* which recycles the tropes of Aborigines as 'scattered over Australia' (1984, 17) and wandering over the land (1984, 18). These constructions augment *terra nullius* mind-sets by negating Aborigines' connection to, and ownership of, particular territory. This 'convenient assumption' (Buchan & Heath 2006, 7) ensures that White possession is not disrupted.

The mythos of hunter-gathering as characterised by haphazard wandering in an unrelenting search for food to allay starvation demonstrates White ignorance. No matter how richly endowed, modern capitalist societies accept the principle of scarcity. As Sahlins (1974, 3) notes, 'it is precisely from this anxious vantage that we look back upon hunters'. In contrast to this skewed perception, Sahlins employed empirical evidence based on research in Arnhem Land in northern Australia to dispel the mythology of hunter-gatherers as ceaselessly engaged in the quest for food to (temporarily) allay starvation (Altman 2011, 120; Thomas 2010, 165). As Broome (2010, 10) states, most Aborigines spent no more than three to five hours per day gathering food. This left ample time for leisure, art and spiritual life.

Constructions of hunter-gathering as a precarious existence were augmented by the White experience of profound alienation in the Australian landscape. As with assumptions of scarcity, White experience was projected onto Aborigines. Solipsism renders Whites oblivious to the possibility of different experiences. Consequently, Whites assume their/our experiences and perceptions are universally shared. With White beliefs about hunter-gatherers and experience of the landscape unquestioned, Aborigines were constructed as living harsh and uncomfortable lives. While conflicting evidence was disregarded, signs of obvious Aboriginal hunger (Stanner 1977, 10) were highly salient, and misattributed to hunter-gatherer lifestyles rather than the disruption to these lifestyles wreaked by colonisation (Sahlins 1974, 8). From this perspective, the early colonists concluded that a preference for traditional

lifestyles rather than the self-evidently superior option of adopting White ways could only be explained by the inexorable link between savages and nature and a concomitant inability to adapt to civilisation.

Distortions arising from the hubristic refusal to consider White knowledge fallible result in contradictions within texts. Prior to 'the struggle to gather food' cited above, *The Land They Found* (1979, 4) states that 'they [Aborigines] were able to live well without agricultural skills'. Moreover, apparent agricultural skills are also noted:

They [Aborigines] rested areas so as to preserve game. Grass was burned off around waterholes to promote growth of fresh, green grass, which would attract game.

The Land They Found 1979, 4

A similar contradiction is evident in *Their Ghosts May be Heard* in which the denial of Aboriginal farming conflicts with evidence for farming:

The Aborigines did not farm the land ... They put part of the root of some plants back in the ground so that the plant would grow again and sometimes burned off areas of dry grass because they knew that this helped seeds to sprout.

Their Ghosts May be Heard 1984, 20

This text also incorporates both constructions of savagery and of Aborigines living a 'rich and ordered' life (1984, 155). These contradictions produce an inconsistent narrative, implying that there is not necessarily an intentional agenda to portray Aborigines pejoratively. Rather, these contradictions seem to reflect the addition of new knowledge (to Whites), while continuing to recycle past beliefs.

In contrast to texts from previous decades, those from the 1990s onwards contest discourses of deficiency in which hunter-gathering is portrayed as haphazard and opportunistic. While *Voices from the Past* deploys the term 'hunters and gatherers' (1994, 9), the adjective 'primitive' is omitted. Moreover, references to 'firestick farming' (1994, 9) and stone eel traps and houses at 'Lake Condah [sic]' (1994, 10) evoke notions of farming, and in the latter example, settled farming. *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005) elaborates on the stone traps and houses at Lake Condor in a section which explicitly contests portrayals of Aborigines as 'only hunters and gatherers' (see Figure One, page 50). Nevertheless, this page is omitted from later Jacaranda publications in the 2000s. Acknowledging that Aborigines farmed and managed the land challenges the fantasy of *terra nullius* (Carter 2006, 75), in which the Australian

landmass was declared 'unowned' on the basis of a lack of recognisable agricultural practice (Buchan & Heath 2006, 8-9), thereby unsettling White possession. In these later publications, references to Aborigines 'bush skills' were resurrected:

Indigenous people may not have had the guns of the Europeans, or often their manpower, but they did not lack courage or skill. Their bush skills, for example, could not be matched by the Europeans. *Humanities Alive 3* 2006, 14

This transformation in the construction of Aborigines reflects a shift in information sources. Rather than the uncritical reproduction of objectifying discourses of deficiency based on White mythology from the colonial era, texts from the 1990s onwards incorporate anti-racist discourses of White ignorance and non-White possession and agency based on Aboriginal knowledge and research findings. This has entailed a challenge to White solipsism. Instead of assumptions of infallibility, White knowledge is positioned as being, at best, only partially correct. As shown by the example of depictions of hunter-gathering, these shifts have led to the correction of some previously circulated misinformation.

Minimisation of Aboriginal achievement

As discussed above, the threat to White exceptionalism and belonging from Aboriginal affiliation with the environment is managed by linking these attributes to savagery. Although not overtly disparaging, deficiency is evoked. Conceptions of White exceptionalism and Aboriginal deficiency are also challenged by recognition of Aboriginal voyages to Australia millennia prior to European sea journeys of similar magnitude. *Colony to Nation* is the first text in my sample to acknowledge these journeys, and therefore the first to have to manage this dilemma. As with texts in later decades, the potential threat to White exceptionalism is resolved by framing the impetus for migration as resulting from force rather than enterprise and emphasising the relative simplicity of the journey:

It is believed that the first-comers to our shores were forced there by hostile invaders who drove them south from their homes in south-east Asia ... All this time the shape and climate of our land were very different from what they are today ... The Straits of Timor – the main barrier between Australia and the Asian mainland – were probably only about sixty miles wide ... It was not so difficult, therefore, for primitive peoples, driven to the extremities of these land bridges by hostile marauders, to take to the sea in their bark rafts and canoes in a desperate search for new homes. *Colony to Nation* 1960, 4

In this extract, the authors attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable: ostensibly 'primitive peoples' with 'crudely made' (1960, 7) rafts and canoes executing considerable sea voyages tens of thousands of years prior to Europeans performing similar feats. Any sense of achievement is quashed by framing the voyages as driven by desperation and 'not so difficult'. Constructions of Aboriginal deficiency position Whites as superior by contrast. In this extract Aborigines' status as 'the first-comers to our shores' is immediately refuted by framing the shores as 'ours'. Given that a distinction has already been made in the text between 'us' and 'our aborigines' (1960, 3), 'ours' signifies White possession. Portraying Aborigines as arriving on 'our shores' tens of thousands of years prior to the historical claims of possession by the British positions the White possession of Australia as always, already enduring. This is an extreme version of what Hage (1998) refers to as the White nation fantasy.

Over the decades of my sample, representations of Aboriginal migration move gradually from dismissal to appreciation with fluctuations between texts. Whereas constructions of force and simplicity are queried in *Australia's Frontiers* for example, they are reinscribed in *The Land They Found*, both published almost twenty years after *Colony to Nation*:

Almost certainly these people had come originally from southern Asia, travelling long distances in open canoes, moving from island to island in search of a new home. Whether they did this from choice or necessity is uncertain ...

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 6

Australia was then [about 30 000 BC] joined to New Guinea, and there were land bridges between New Guinea and the Asian mainland. The aborigines would have been able to walk most of the way to Australia. In some places, they would have had to cross short stretches of water. To do this, they must have built rafts or canoes.

The Land They Found 1979, 1

The use of less definitive language in *Australia's Frontiers* is even more pronounced in *Their Ghosts May be Heard*. Nevertheless, discourses of anthropology position Aborigines as objects of the White gaze while reinscribing Whites as authorities:

No one knows exactly *where* the Aboriginal people lived before they came to Australia. No one knows exactly *why* they came here either. But we do know that they came from somewhere in Southeast Asia. We also know that they left their

homes more than 40 000 years ago and travelled to Australia in canoes or on rafts ...

Today, sailors use compasses, sextants, charts and radios to find their way across the seas. Aborigines had none of these aids when they sailed the oceans. Many must have drowned when their small boats were turned over by the high waves. Some were probably killed by sea creatures. Even more would have died of hunger and thirst. *Their Ghosts May be Heard* 1984, 16-17 emphasis in original

Arguably this extract demonstrates appreciation of ability. Underlying this perception, however, is incredulity that these voyages could have been successful without modern navigation instruments. The implication is that the success of Aboriginal sea voyages was due to chance rather than skill, thereby reasserting Aboriginal deficiency. This idea is comparable to Windschuttle's (2002, 386) argument that the palawa's survival was attributable to 'good fortune rather than good management'. By stating that 'no one knows' why Aborigines came to Australia or where from, this extract privileges White knowledge while disregarding knowledge passed down via Aboriginal oral, visual or performative traditions. Indeed, insisting that Aborigines migrated disregards some Aboriginal traditions which contend that Aborigines have always been in Australia (see below). Framing Aborigines as migrants also functions to minimise the uniqueness of Aboriginal claims to belonging. As Elder (2007, 243) notes,

The specificity of Indigenous peoples' original and ongoing connection with the land is reduced to a walk across an ancient land bridge millennia ago, and this is seen to be the equivalent of arriving by a Qantas jumbo jet thousands of years later.

Since the 1980s the use of less authoritative language has been complemented by the introduction of 'scientific' discourse. Unlike earlier texts in which authority was produced through categorical assertions, from the 1980s phrases such as 'scientists believe' or 'scientists think' are more common. The multiplicity of discourses in the postmodern era relegates scientific discourse from a position of undisputed authority to one competing voice among many, including Aboriginal voices, some of which assert that creation occurred within Australia rather than elsewhere:

The origins of Australia's Indigenous people are strongly debated, and many theories have been proposed. Some say they have been here as long as the Australian landmass has existed. Others believe that they came here from somewhere else, most probably from lands to Australia's north.

SOSE Alive History 2 2005, 4

This 2005 extract explicitly positions Aborigines' origins as a debated field, with no particular narrative privileged. In contrast to previous texts, migration is not a given.

SOSE 3 (1998) also questions the inevitability of Aboriginal migration but nevertheless uses tentative language augmented by scientific authority to position migration as likely. Nevertheless, the achievement inherent in migratory journey is revered. Moreover, Aborigines as framed as 'Australia's earliest settlers and explorers':

Most scientists believe that the Aborigines are descended from people who migrated to Australia over time, thousands of years ago. It is most likely that Aborigines approached Australia from South-East Asia ... Scientists who see the Aborigines as migrants have calculated that some crossing of water was necessary ... This means that Australia's earliest settlers and explorers were probably among the first people to ever undertake hazardous journeys at sea.

SOSE 3 1998, 6

Summary

Over the time frame of my sample the varying portrayals of Aboriginal migration to Australia evidence a reduction in attempts to minimise Aboriginal achievement, position Whites as exceptional and deny the unique status of Aborigines as indigenous rather than immigrants. Other developments over time include the limiting of White expertise to scientists, less use of unequivocal language and finally some inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives. Texts from the 2000s also differ from their predecessors in their portrayals of pre-colonisation history. Rather than pseudo-anthropological accounts, these narratives provide an historical context from which to interpret the impact of subsequent British colonisation.

Table Five shows the deployment of overt and subtle tropes of civilisation and savagery by the texts in my sample. Texts are listed chronologically, enabling a synopsis of temporal changes. The first trope identified is progress. This column shows texts which overtly revere progress, contrasting civilisation with savagery to frame civilised (White) societies as the pinnacle of social progress. As shown in Table Five, these tropes are restricted to social studies texts from the 1950s and 1960s. The next column, 'savagery', indicates texts which explicitly disparage Aborigines as savage, through the use of terms such as Stone Age or wild, cruel barbarians. This trope is also restricted to texts from the 1950s and early 1960s.

Table 5: Civilisation and savagery in textbooks covering pre-20th century history*

Decade	Title	Progress	Savagery	Anthro- pological	Dampier	Hunter- gatherers	Unable to adapt
1950s	A Junior History		•		•		
	Out of the Mist	•	•	•	•	•	
1960s	Colony to Nation		•	•	disputed	Reasons	
	Social Studies for Sec Schools	•	•	•	•	•	
	A Map History				•	•	
	Landmarks				•		•
1970s	A Down Under Story						
	Australia's Two Centuries						
	Australia's Frontiers			•	•	•	
	The Land They Found			•	•	Reasons, land management	
1980s	Their Ghosts May Be Heard			•	•		•
1990s	Voices from Past			•	•	Also farming	
	SOSE 3			•	•	Land management	
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2				•	Contested, farming	
	Humanities Alive 3				•		
	Humanities 3				•		

*The tropes of civilisation and savagery are evident in texts covering pre-colonial Aboriginal life and the early colonisation period. Texts which focus exclusively on later history are, therefore, omitted from this table

Progress = civilisation explicitly discussed & positioned as pinnacle of social progress

Savage = explicit, disparaging references to savagery including Stone Age, wild, cruel barbarians

Anthropological = anthropological-style descriptions of noble savagery

Dampier = reproduces Dampier's 'miserablest peoples' remark

Hunter-gatherers includes references to nomadism or wandering

Unable to adapt = suggests essential incongruity between Aborigines and White lifestyles

In contrast to the moral dimensions inherent to the overtly disparaging constructions in the columns discussed so far, the 'anthropological' column shows texts which deploy the detached language of the anthropological observer to frame Aborigines as noble savages. Anthropological discourse is adopted by texts from the 1950s through to the 1990s. The following column indicates texts which reinscribe deficiency by reproducing Dampier's withering depiction of Aborigines as 'the miserablest people in the world'. As shown, Dampier's remark is reproduced over

the entire period of my research sample, with only two exceptions. These two texts, both published in the 1970s, omit both overt and subtle tropes of civilisation and savagery. The next column lists texts in which savagery is imputed through reference to hunter-gatherer lifestyles. This column also shows texts that contest the pejorative implications of this discourse as well as those that incorporate evidence of farming and settlement. As shown, constructions of hunter-gatherers as savage were contested from the late 1970s. The final column indicates texts in which difference is evoked by positioning Aborigines as unable to adapt to White ways of life. This trope is used relatively infrequently. Overall, Table Five shows that tropes of civilisation and savagery become more subtle and less frequent over the period of my research sample. In particular, the omission of discourses of anthropology and hunter-gathering from texts published in the 2000s produces a marked decrease in the reproduction of these tropes.

Conflict with ‘explorers’

Aborigines are also constructed as savage by framing conflict with White invaders as due to the inherent hostility and savagery of Aborigines rather than legitimate defence. This construction precludes any intimation of savagery or mindless violence on the part of Whites. In this section I discuss portrayals of Aboriginal conflict with White inland ‘explorers’. Conflict with White colonisers is discussed in the following section on frontier violence. I use the term ‘explorers’ to refer to the elite White males encompassed by the popular use of this term. Given that these Whites were escorted and assisted in their travels over territory that was intimately known to the relevant cultural and language groups (Reynolds 2000) however, I contend that the label ‘tourists’ is more appropriate, while expeditions are more accurately termed ‘guided tours’. For ease of communication however, I use ‘explorers’ with the addition of quotation marks to signal my refusal to uncritically reproduce the term. The elevated status typically accorded to White ‘exploration’ evidences White exceptionalism which contrasts markedly with the minimisation of Aboriginal achievement discussed in the previous section. Aboriginal defensive warfare is similarly minimised by being depicted as inherent savagery. By holding Aborigines responsible for violence, this construction bolsters White exceptionalism by positioning Whites as blameless. The elevation of Whites and concomitant depreciation of non-Whites demonstrate the subjective nature of history writing (Attwood 1996, 101; Stratton 1998, 18).

In contrast to narratives of frontier violence which link Aboriginal resistance to dispossession (discussed in a later section), representations of conflict with 'explorers' reveal White inability to comprehend Aboriginal hostility (Cowlshaw 1999, 53). White bewilderment evidences a solipsistic perspective that remains oblivious to Aboriginal perspectives, resulting in ignorance. For example, recognition of Aboriginal attachment to territory is precluded by interpreting nomadism as aimless wandering. Framing Aborigines as primitive also precludes recognition that Aboriginal resistance in sites distant from White settlement could reflect awareness of the dispossession and death which accompanied White incursion. The possibility of Aboriginal violence representing territorial defence is impeded by the White conception of Aboriginal territory as *terra nullius*. Aboriginal sovereignty is also negated by White ignorance of Aboriginal social organisation. Aligning themselves along racial lines, Whites assumed Aborigines were similarly aligned. Aborigines were viewed as an homogenous racial group rather than comprised of distinct cultural and language groups attached to particular territories. In the absence of understanding, violence is attributed to the most salient reason available – mindless savagery. The whiteness of this perspective is also revealed by the discourses of reversal which consistently frame defence as 'attacks by Aborigines'. As Broome (1996, 56) notes, Aborigines were positioned as 'fleeting cardboard figures on the backdrop of European exploration and appeared as aggressors'. In the following section, I examine the discourses of deficiency which comprise narratives of White 'explorers' conflict with Aborigines.

Colony to Nation (1960, 66, 113, 115, 116) reproduces the trope of inherent Aboriginal hostility on four occasions. On the other hand, the following extract frames hostility as dependent on the attitudes of the elite White leaders of 'exploration' parties:

The continual hostility towards Mitchell and his parties contrasts strangely with their [Aborigines'] attitudes towards Sturt, and suggests an essential difference between the characters of the two explorers. *Colony to Nation* 1960, 69

Although this extract's attribution of conflict to the behaviour of Whites is atypical, its construction of Aborigines as hostile is not. The incongruity between these constructions in which Whites are framed as aggressors yet Aborigines are not reciprocally positioned as defenders is overlooked. Moreover, any fleeting intimation of White deficiency is offset by lauding Sturt. Positioning Sturt as exemplary is a popular theme in narratives of 'exploration'. For example, *Out of the*

Mist (Book Two 1956, 44) describes Sturt as a 'brave and gentle explorer'. Similarly, *Australia's Frontiers* (1979, 30) refers to Sturt as the 'father of Australian exploration' and 'Prince of Australian Explorers'. Sturt is also positioned as exemplary in *A Junior History*:

There has never lived a gentler and braver explorer than Sturt. The following extract from his journal shows us his character. "... I have one consolation in the retrospect of my past services. My path amongst savage tribes has been a bloodless one".
A Junior History 1950, 93

He [Sturt] explored this new river for a few miles until he reached a fishing net stretched across it by the aborigines. The kindheartedness of Sturt is nowhere better shown than by his refusal to go farther and destroy the net.
A Junior History 1950, 50

In the first extract, Sturt is positioned as exceptional for avoiding conflict with 'savage tribes', intimating that conflict was considered inevitable. As Reynolds (2000, 103) observes however, this 'proud boast ... can be attributed as much to the influence of black guides ... as to the explorer's own temper and intentions'. Indeed, Reynolds (2000, 30-1) cites Sturt's own journal entries in which Sturt acknowledges the invaluable contribution of Aboriginal diplomacy. In contrast, *A Junior History* omits Aboriginal accomplishment in order to position Sturt as exemplary. This portrayal reveals the distortion inherent to constructions of White exceptionalism. In the second extract, Sturt is framed as exemplary for not destroying an Aboriginal fishing net, suggesting that respect for Aboriginal property was not standard practice. Given that respect for property is a defining feature of British law, with transportation to the Australian colonies a likely result from flouting this law at the time, it is unlikely that refusing to destroy similar technology owned by Whites would be considered exceptional. This example demonstrates Mills (1997, 11) assertion that the norms prescribed for interactions among Whites are suspended or modified when White interact with non-Whites.

Depictions of Sturt as one of history's 'great [White] men' (Curthoys 2008, 235; Macintyre & Clark 2003, 173) are contested by other texts in my sample. According to *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* for example, avoidance of conflict was due to the action of Aborigines rather than Sturt, while Sturt's decision not to destroy fishing nets was based on his fear of 'angering the natives' rather than respect or consideration:

Sturt was about to fire upon them when the arrival of some friendly aborigines saved the situation. *SSSS, Book Two* 1963, 26

... the aborigines had set fishing nets across its [the Darling's] channel. Rather than risk angering the natives by breaking their nets, he [Sturt] decided to turn back to the Murray. *SSSS, Book Two* 1963, 27

These extracts demonstrate the subjectivity inherent to historical narratives; authors select and arrange historical data in order to construct a particular narrative. The alternate portrayal of Sturt intimates that, in contrast to typical representations, responsibility for conflict may well have resided with White invaders. The first extract also reveals the reliance of 'explorers' like Sturt on Aboriginal diplomacy.

Aboriginal hostility is manufactured by narrating exploration exclusively from the White perspective, framing White 'explorers' as noble and exploration for land as 'the desperate need for fresh pastures' (*Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 30; these points are elaborated in Chapter Six). Omitting any context for Aboriginal actions, violence is positioned as indiscriminate and random. Texts that frame Aborigines as inherently hostile reproduce the same incidents: Aboriginal 'attacks' are noted on the parties of Eyre (see pages 187-189), Leichardt (*A Junior History* 1950, 94; *Out of the Mist, Book Two* 1956, 33; *A Map History* 1963, 24), Kennedy (*A Junior History* 1950, 95; *Out of the Mist, Book Two* 1956, 34; *Colony to Nation* 1960, 115; *SSSS, Book Two* 1963, 29; *A Map History* 1963, 25) and Stuart (*A Junior History* 1950, 97; *Colony to Nation* 1960, 116; *SSSS, Book Two* 1963, 30; *A Map History* 1963, 27; *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 32). As noted previously, sporadic references to Aborigines follow predictable patterns.

In comparison to texts from the pre-1980s era, those published in the 1980s and 1990s either omit conflict with 'explorers' or emphasise non-violent interactions (see Table Six, page 137). For example, *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1984, 129) mentions conflict only once. Yet this brief portrayal highlights resolution of the possible conflict. This portrayal is supplemented by a reproduction of Macfarlane's 1830 painting 'Sturt's party threatened by blacks at the junction of the Murray and Darling' (see Figure Twenty-Three). Macfarlane's title is a solipsism discourse of reversal in which the possibility of Aborigines feeling threatened by White invasion is not considered. In contrast to the construction of threatening 'blacks' in Macfarlane's title, the interaction is framed dispassionately in *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1984, 130) as 'Sturt's meeting with the Aborigines'.



**Figure 23: A painting showing Sturt's meeting with the Aborigines, 23 January 1830
(*Their Ghosts May be Heard* 1984, 130)**

Voices from the Past (1994, 99) also mentions conflict with 'explorers' only once – on this occasion with Mitchell. Contesting the typical framing of Mitchell, the text attributes lack of recognition from his contemporaries to Mitchell's treatment of Aborigines as well as his bellicose nature (1994, 98). Regarding the former, Mitchell's 'good relationship with Aborigines and ... read[iness] to praise their work' (1994, 98) is highlighted. This perspective is endorsed by Watson (1984, 102), who argues that it was Mitchell's observation of Aboriginal society as enjoying 'a level of health and an Intensity [sic] of existence ... far beyond the enjoyments of civilized men' that infuriated his contemporaries. In addition to positioning Mitchell favourably, *Voices from the Past* also portrays Aboriginal-White interactions as friendly rather than hostile. The remaining 1990s text covering pre-twentieth century history, *SOSE 3*, omits conflict with 'explorers' altogether. The sole interaction between Aborigines and 'explorers' in this text refutes suggestions of hostility by noting that the only reason King survived Burke and Wills' expedition was because 'he was looked after by Aborigines' (1998, 73). Texts from the 2000s omit the topic of 'exploration' entirely.

Summary

Table Six identifies the varying representations of conflict with White 'explorers' adopted by the texts in my sample. The four identified strategies are depicting

conflict as savagery, omitting conflict from narratives of ‘exploration’, minimising conflict and omitting the topic of White ‘exploration’ altogether.

Table 6: Conflict with ‘explorers’ in texts covering pre-20th century history*

Decade	Title	Conflict as savagery	Conflict absent	Conflict minimised	Exploration absent
1950s	A Junior History	•			
	Out of the Mist	•			
1960s	Colony to Nation	•			
	Social Studies Sec Schools	•			
	A Map History	•			
	Landmarks		•		
1970s	A Down Under Story				•
	Australia’s Two Centuries		•		
	Australia’s Frontiers	•			
	The Land They Found		•		
1980s	Their Ghosts May Be Heard			•	
1990s	Voices from the Past			•	
	SOSE 3		•		
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2				•
	Humanities Alive 3				•
	Humanities 3				•

*Conflict between White inland ‘explorers’ and Aborigines is discussed in texts covering the early colonial era. Texts which focus exclusively on later history are, therefore, omitted from this table

The column labelled ‘conflict as savagery’ indicates texts which frame the conflict provoked by the forays of White ‘explorers’ onto Aboriginal land as due to the inherent savagery of Aborigines, rather than a considered and legitimate defensive response to potential invasion and dispossession, or due to White savagery. As this column shows, this trope was evident only in the early decades of my sample. The following column shows texts that omit conflict from their narratives of White ‘exploration’, which is a sporadic pattern in texts from the 1960s onwards. The next column show texts that, rather than omitting conflict altogether, include a single example of conflict but, overall, emphasise friendly relations between Aborigines and ‘explorers’. This pattern is apparent in two of the three 1980s and 1990s texts in my sample which cover the early colonial era. The final column shows that textbooks published in the 2000s omit the topic of White exploration altogether.

As with tropes of civilisation and savagery, a temporal pattern is evident in my sample as regards representations of conflict with ‘explorers’. Whereas texts from

the 1950s and 1960s predominately blame conflict on Aboriginal savagery, later texts either omit or minimise accounts of conflict from their narratives of 'exploration'. Texts published in the 2000s extend this pattern, omitting the topic of 'exploration' altogether. In addition to reducing constructions of White exceptionalism, this change avoids a contradictory element of earlier texts in which Aborigines were recognised as first Australians initially but subsequently erased in discourses of White 'discovery' and 'exploration'. These texts evidence a lessening in what Foster (1999, 264) terms the 'mentioning' approach to diversity: the inclusion of new material while leaving the original content and organising framework unaltered.

In comparison to the shift from overt to relatively subtle constructions of civilisation and savagery delineated in the previous section, intimations of Aboriginal savagery in portrayals of conflict tend to be unchanged. Rather than being modified, over time narratives of conflict between Aborigines and White 'explorers' are simply omitted. This decision may reflect a rejection of the hubris necessary to frame Whites as intrepid 'explorers' for touring and naming areas already intimately known and named and to position land as being 'opened up' for White settlement while disregarding Aboriginal sovereignty and the impact of dispossession on Aborigines. On the other hand, Reynolds (2000, 18) argues that 'explorers' fulfilled a heroic role in historical narratives which was superseded by soldiers in World War One. As twentieth-century history, with its substantial war content, assumed greater prominence in narratives of Australian history (see Chart Two, page 80), soldiers may have displaced 'explorers' as the principal heroes in these narratives.

So far in this chapter I have argued that the social studies texts in my sample deploy overt constructions of civilisation and savagery to impute non-White deficiency and White exceptionalism. Early history texts reproduce these constructions subtly via discourses of otherness, primarily discourses of deficiency, difference and anthropology supplemented by discourses of disregard and paternalism. Solipsistic discourses of reversal and siloing also implicitly maintain these constructions. Whereas discourses of White exceptionalism affirm whiteness directly, siloing and discourses of otherness and reversal affirm whiteness by positioning Aborigines as other to normative whiteness. Overall, discourses of otherness were reduced in history texts from the 1970s onwards. To some extent, these texts also contest earlier constructions via discourses of anti-racism, in particular discourses of non-White, or Aboriginal, agency. This change is especially marked in texts from the 2000s. A visual representation of these discourses is given in Chart Five.

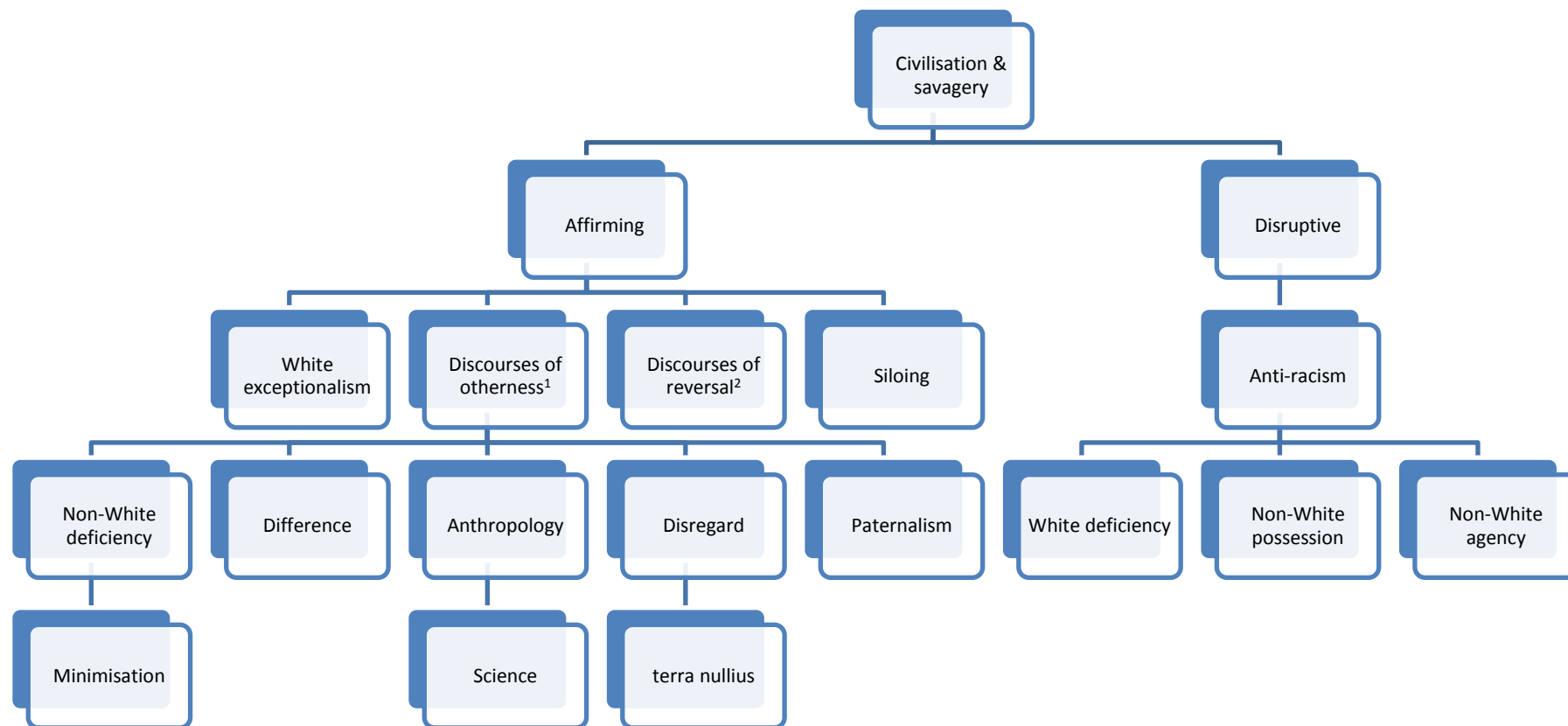


Chart 5: Discourses of civilisation and savagery in textbooks covering pre-20th century history

1. Discourses of otherness are objectifying discourses in which non-White 'others' are subjected to the White gaze. These discourses comprise:
 - Non-White deficiency:** disparaging representations of primitiveness, ignoble savagery
 - Difference:** non-anthropological, non-disparaging constructions of difference, such as 'us' and 'them'
 - Anthropology:** Aborigines racialised and framed as exotic, noble savages; Whites as expert
 - Disregard:** indifference, especially to Aboriginal suffering
 - Paternalism:** patronising constructions of White benevolence with Aborigines constructed as helpless, dependent
2. Discourses of reversal: solipsistic discourses, such as portrayals of Aborigines rather than Whites as invaders

Frontier violence

Frontier violence refers to conflict between Aborigines and Whites on the outskirts of settlement rather than encounters between Aborigines and nineteenth-century White 'explorers'. Although White 'explorers' differed in their readiness to kill Aborigines when feeling threatened, overall conflict attending 'exploration' was minimal with an absence of the vengeance typical of later massacres by White colonists. As such, acknowledgement of skirmishes between Aborigines and 'explorers' does not necessarily reflect poorly on Whites. The representation of frontier violence is more complex. Frontier violence highlights the contested ownership of sites of White colonisation, disrupting the tunnel-vision of solipsism on which many of the reassuring White myths of colonisation depend. For example, portrayals of peaceful settlement and Aboriginal acquiescence to British occupation are disrupted (Carter 2006, 77). In particular, the defence of land inherent to frontier violence is a blatant challenge to the solipsistic perspective in which land is fantasised as *terra nullius* – belonging to no-one (Buchan & Heath 2006, 6). Moreover, White exceptionalism is undermined by admission of massacres indicative of disproportionate and punitive action and the use of treacherous methods such as poisoning. As noted by Windschuttle (2002, 3) in his recent defence of colonisation, disclosure of the vicious nature of White conduct undermines the putative superiority of White civilisation:

[T]he debate over Aboriginal history goes far beyond its ostensible subject: it is about the character of the nation and, ultimately, the calibre of the civilisation Britain brought to these shores in 1788.

Children's texts seek to "'manage" the colonial past for [White] children' (Bradford 2001, 15). In the following section, I identify five different strategies for 'managing' frontier conflict in my sample. The first three strategies, typically present in earlier texts, attempt to revalorise whiteness by omitting the topic, excusing the violence via various justifications and stressing how violence produced an impetus for reformation. Violence is excused via discourses of deficiency and disregard, blaming convicts via discourses of scapegoating and constructing violence as transient via discourses of historical discontinuity. Violence is also excused by portraying violence as generating reformation via discourses of benevolence. The trope of inherent hostility, deployed in sections on conflict between Aborigines and White 'explorers', is notably absent in the various strategies for defending whiteness. This absence suggests an implicit recognition that violence was initiated by Whites and that Aboriginal opposition to dispossession was justified. These inferences are

supported by an absence of the White bewilderment regarding violence evident in narratives of conflict between Aborigines and White 'explorers'. In contrast to the strategies in earlier texts, texts published from the 1970s onwards deploy anti-racist discourses which acknowledge violence and, to varying extents, condemn Whites. In the following section I discuss each of these strategies in turn.

Absent

While many texts minimise frontier violence through various rhetorical manoeuvres, an alternative option is to 'use strategies of silence and concealment' (Bradford 2001, 15). *Australia's Frontiers* is the sole text in my sample which adopts this approach, omitting any explicit references to conflict. On the other hand, violence is alluded to:

The record of the relationship between the Aboriginal tribes and the expansion of the European pioneer settlement throughout the nineteenth-century is a tragic one. The new settlers had little or no appreciation of the traditional culture of the original inhabitants, who by mid-century had been drastically reduced in numbers.

Throughout the period of this unhappy relationship some groups, particularly church missionary societies and private welfare organisations, made efforts to have colonial, State and Federal Governments recognise the plight of Australia's first occupants and take steps to remedy it. *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 67

In this extract, Aboriginal depopulation is acknowledged, yet attributed nebulously to 'European' naivety. The description of the 'new settlers' as European is unusual in a text from this era and may indicate an attempt to obscure the Britishness of the perpetrators. It is also inaccurate. As Jupp (2007, 4) observes, Australia was colonised by the British rather than Europeans, in part to prevent European colonisation. The passive phrase 'had been drastically reduced in numbers' is deployed to ensure no agent is held responsible. While depopulation may intimate violence, other reasons are just as plausible, such as disease or the 'doomed race theory' (Breen 2008), in which Aborigines supposedly 'shuddered at the approach of a stranger' (Frodsam cited Evans 2010, 25). On the other hand, guilt is suggested by the attempt to vindicate Whites even in the putative absence of wrongdoing. Whites are exonerated not only by omission but also by a discourse of reversal in which Whites are positioned as benevolent rather than malevolent. (This tactic is elaborated below.)

White benevolence is enhanced via a discourse of historical discontinuity which locates the 'unhappy relationship' in the past, implying a different relationship since that time. Describing this ostensibly past relationship as 'tragic' and 'unhappy' enhances the benevolence of contemporary Whites by positioning them/us as remorseful. A second double-page towards the end of the text, 'The Aborigines Today' (1979, 67), reinforces the concept of White benevolence, depicting the 'plight of Australia's first occupants' as 'tragic'. Framing Whites as agentic in relation to benevolence contrasts with the absence of agency regarding depopulation. Constructions of Aboriginality are more consistent: Aborigines are positioned as helplessly dependent on White benevolence while agency in resisting White violence is also denied by omitting frontier conflict. Within this framework, Aboriginal resistance and adaptation to White invasion is oxymoronic.

Excused

Rather than overlooking frontier violence, other texts concede (some) violence but rationalise it with a diversity of excuses. As demonstrated by *Australia's Frontiers* above, White violence may be constructed as guileless, transient and an impetus for reformation. The texts in this section extend this repertoire of defences, incorporating constructions of White violence as inevitable and amoral. This section discusses the social studies texts in my sample, both of which share the dominant theme of excusing White violence. The other texts in my sample that excuse this violence predominantly adopt other strategies (see Table Seven, page 161), such as reformation, and are discussed in subsequent sections on these strategies.

Out of the Mist constructs an elaborate rationale for violence of far greater extent and explicitness than any other text in my sample, reproducing eighteenth and nineteenth-century doctrines of the self-exterminating Aborigine (Ryan 2010) or 'doomed race theory' (Breen 2008). These discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency reassure Whites that Aboriginal depopulation was inevitable by attributing blame to a 'primitive' race 'giving way' before an 'advanced' one:

This race [Bushmen of South Africa] is an example of a primitive people forced into the poorest country by more advanced tribes: that is their fate because they did not progress. Unfortunately the Tasmanians could not follow their example and move away: they were exterminated. *Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 7*

Such tribes [palawa] often disappear when more advanced races come on the scene.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 9

These two extracts demonstrate seemingly contradictory explanations for Aboriginal depopulation: on the one hand, extermination and, on the other, disappearance. By constructing extermination as inevitable, however, any potential contradiction is resolved. The first extract acknowledges frontier violence but minimises White culpability by employing the passive voice to leave no agent responsible. White colonists are positioned as benevolent and absolved of any accountability for the attempted genocide (Boyce 2008, Diamond 1988) of the palawa by framing extermination as 'unfortunate' but inevitable due to a fabricated law by which 'advanced' peoples ineluctably destroy 'primitive' ones. This fiction is clearly demonstrated in the second extract. In contrast, a contemporary publication by Turnbull (1948, 28) argued that the palawa 'were not destroyed by a foreign culture. They were destroyed by arms and expatriation as part of a ruthless policy'. *Out of the Mist's* portrayal, then, is not necessarily a product of its time, but an antediluvian attempt to redeem White civilisation.

Constructing extermination as inevitable or as 'disappearance' renders questions of morality regarding White violence extraneous. Moreover, the 'doomed race theory' (Breen 2008) is deployed to shift moral responsibility from the murderers to the murdered via discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency. This defence recycles eighteenth-century thought in which industriousness is framed as crucial to civilisation, while idleness leads to stagnation and subsequent conquest. For example, Malthus claimed that exertion encourages ingenuity, thereby leading to civilisation (Konishi 2010). These ideas are echoed in *Out of the Mist*:

As in Egypt, effort and invention were necessary if the inhabitants [Sumerians] were to progress beyond a primitive level.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 83

The Sumerians accepted the challenge of the region, and teach us that results are not dependent on natural gifts alone, but largely on man's efforts.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 89

In particular, industriousness regarding food production was seen as a virtue that led to progress and entitlement to land (Day 2005, 227; Docker 2010, 55; Konishi 2010). Conversely, failure to progress and subsequent conquest resulted from indolence. In 1758, for example, Vattel linked industriousness with rights to land,

arguing that societies based on the 'fruits of the chase [rather than agricultural production] ... may not complain if more industrious Nations should come and occupy part of their lands' (cited Buchan & Heath 2006, 8-9). This idea is employed in *Out of the Mist* to frame conquerors as amoral agents of fate:

[C]ivilisation has progressed through conquest. Races that have become contented and easy-going have fallen, and more energetic peoples have taken over their knowledge and ideas, and improved them.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 70

This discourse of White exceptionalism absolves colonisers of responsibility for the destruction of colonised peoples. Colonisers are framed amorally as energetic rather than malevolent. In contrast, being 'content and easy-going' is framed pejoratively. This is an elaboration of the 'doomed race theory' (Breen 2008) in which the colonisers are framed as 'energetic' rather than 'advanced' and 'content and easy-going' is code for the putative idleness of 'primitive' peoples. As shown in the following extracts, idleness is attributed to Aborigines via discourses of deficiency:

There are two ways in which man can live in his physical environment. He can accept it as it is and mould his life to fit in with it – in other words, he can adapt himself to his environment. The aborigines of Australia have never done very much more than this.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 3

[O]thers just have not bothered because they are content to live on a restricted diet ... instead of settling down to a life more like our own.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 9

The aborigines, who were nomad hunters and fishers, did not bother to grow crops although they dug for edible roots such as yams. They did not build good dwellings, being content with rough bark shelters, and made little attempt to make pots and other vessels or furniture, though they made beautifully ground stone axes.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1948, 14

Although the euphemisms 'content' and 'easy-going' are substituted for indolent, moral dimensions are nevertheless attached to these qualities, as suggested by admonition of 'not bothering'. Whereas 'contented' and 'easy-going' peoples merely adapt to the environment, agricultural production fulfils the Biblical injunction to

subdue the earth. As indicated by its subtitle, '[t]he story of man's mastery of his physical environment ...', *Book Two* venerates this domination:

[W]e must keep before the pupil the central idea that [White] man has, by using his wonderful powers, gradually made himself dominant on the earth and moulded the environment to his will. This is truly a wonderful thought and the full realisation of this great truth is a part of every [White] child's heritage which must not be denied to him.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, iv

In this extract, White exceptionalism positions White domination as inevitable and amoral. However, in addition to these attempts to excuse White violence, *Out of the Mist* also employs terms such as massacre (*Book One* 1952, 143) and extermination which suggest White culpability:

Some [bushrangers] also ill-treated the aborigines, and their atrocities are a disgrace to civilisation.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 153

Arthur's policy led to the final extinction of this Old Stone Age race [palawa]. The problem of coloured and white people living in one country was removed in a way which is a blot on our Western Civilisation.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 155

The aborigines vainly tried to stem the movement [of settlers inland], but they were harshly subdued, settlers often organising hunting parties to shoot them down and even giving them food poisoned with arsenic.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 34

Unfortunately the white man exterminated the aborigines; caused the extinction of the emu; has seriously depleted the numbers of wallabies ... It is a pity that such a treasure-house of antiques should be so despoiled.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 159-160

The above extracts concede Whites committed atrocities. Nevertheless, the chief dilemma associated with these atrocities is the potentially negative reflection on 'Western Civilisation'. Recognition that frontier conflict reflects poorly on White civilisation may explain *Out of the Mist's* extended attempt at revalorisation. In contrast, the impact on Aborigines is notable by its absence. Indeed, the discourse of disregard evident in the last extract equates 'extermination' of Aborigines with reduced numbers of emus or wallabies. These extracts reveal a distorted sense of

humanity which includes Whites but excludes Aborigines. To varying extents, this solipsism is also inculcated in the students who read these texts, 'foreclosing the child's subjectivity into a world where the other's *reality* is hardly known or even entirely absent' (Fricker 2007 cited Steyn 2012, 14 emphasis in original). Solipsism is also revealed in the assessment of the putative extermination of the palawa as a loss to White knowledge and culture. More striking than the nonchalant and callous disregard for Aboriginal suffering is the normalisation of this disregard.

The other social studies text in my sample, *Social Studies for Secondary Schools*, also excuses frontier violence, framing it as an unforeseen consequence of colonisation:

[W]e must not shut our eyes to the fact that the earlier settlers deliberately killed many aborigines. The white men occupied aboriginal hunting grounds without realising the injury they were doing to the natives. As the latter had neither gardens nor herds, it seemed that land could have little value for them. The aborigines themselves, usually timid and harmless at first, realised only very slowly what was happening to them. When they found that they had lost their tribal hunting grounds, they started to attack isolated settlers. Houses were burned, and some colonists were killed.

The white men took swift revenge. Raiding aboriginal camps, they shot men, women and children. They also put poison in waterholes used by aborigines, and sometimes, pretending to be friendly, they killed off whole tribes by giving them poisoned flour.

SSSS, Book Two 1963, 54

Despite conceding that Whites showed no compunction in murdering entire tribes by treacherous methods, this extract attempts, somewhat implausibly, to highlight the absence of malicious intent by the murderers. While advocating 'not shut[ting] our eyes' to frontier violence, the text nevertheless attributes the escalating violence to White naivety. Moreover, the assumptions underpinning this naivety are framed as reasonable, evidencing callous disregard for those affected. Violence is portrayed as an unforeseen consequence of dispossession. Crucially, dispossession, the initial trigger for violence, is framed as guileless. Subsequent violence on the part of both Whites and Aborigines is then depicted as retaliatory rather than premeditated.

Although the above extract frames Aboriginal retaliation as a reasonable response to dispossession, this perspective is not consistent throughout the text. Several pages earlier, Aborigines are framed as a problem for early White colonists, evoking the trope of inherent hostility:

[T]he *aborigines* brought tension into their [colonists'] lives, for 'bad blacks' sometimes attacked isolated homesteads. SSSS, *Book Two* 1963, 47

The lack of contextualisation for Aboriginal actions in this extract positions violence as due to 'bad blacks', rather than as the defence of ancestral land. Constructing Aborigines as bringing tension to colonists is a solipsistic discourse of reversal. The 'tensions' White colonisation brought into Aboriginal lives, such as loss of ancestral land, starvation, disease and violence, are absent evidencing a discourse of disregard. The authors' obliviousness to the partiality of their perspective is highlighted by the disparity between the significant (yet overlooked) problems faced by Aborigines and the trivial issues noted for Whites – homesickness, loneliness and higher prices for luxuries like ornaments and ribbons due to the slow means of transport (1963, 47).

In summary texts in this section excused violence via the passive voice or constructions of violence as guileless, both of which leave no agent responsible, discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency which construct depopulation as inevitable and amoral, discourses of reversal which hold Aborigines responsible and discourses of disregard in which the impact of violence is dismissed.

Promoted reform

As discussed previously, whiteness is also redeemed by stressing the reformation that resulted from violence. Texts which implement this strategy also minimise White violence by limiting references of violence to a few locations, deploying discourses of scapegoating to position violence as the anomalous behaviour of 'bad' Whites in contrast to the progress achieved by benevolent 'good' Whites and/or discourses of equivalence which portray the violence as having a similar impact on Whites and Aborigines.

A Junior History acknowledges frontier violence in Western Australia, Queensland and Tasmania. Violence is attributed to dispossession: 'aborigines objected to the white people seizing their hunting grounds' (1950, 59). Moreover, White brutality is highlighted: '[p]retending to be friendly white settlers gave poisoned food to the blacks' (1950, 78-9). In spite of these admissions, in the Tasmanian context, Whites are portrayed as benevolent and well-intentioned. In this Tasmanian text, frontier violence in Tasmania is framed as an impetus for 'kindness' via a discourse of White exceptionalism:

At this moment George Augustus Robinson, a bricklayer, suggested that kindness be tried. He had become the friend of some of the natives and loved them ... Many a time his life was in danger, but kindness won ... We must think of him as one of the greatest Australians. The Government put the natives, 203 all told, on Flinders Island in Bass Strait, where disease soon killed most of them off.

A Junior History 1950, 75

Said (1994, xix) observes that 'the rhetoric of power all too easily produces an illusion of benevolence'. Framing Whites as benevolent reveals a distorted perspective in which the brutal treatment of Aborigines by Whites is easily dismissed, evidencing devaluation and disregard for Aborigines. This disregard is evident in the final clause in which Aborigines being 'killed off' by disease is reported dispassionately. Disregard results in a tendentious portrayal of Robinson in which his use of force and deception and personal financial gain (Boyce 2008, 87-8, 91-2; Diamond 1988, 10) are omitted. This representation of Robinson demonstrates that histories are not impartial records of 'what happened' but socially constructed stories in which particular actors, events and topics are included or excluded, emphasised or minimised. Certain perspectives are privileged, while others are omitted, creating a coherent narrative (Attwood 1996; Stratton 1998).

Colony to Nation's depiction of violence is even more restricted than *A Junior History*; the only site where violence is admitted is Tasmania. Denying the widely known and accepted story of White enmity toward the palawa is, arguably, futile. While texts such as *Out of the Mist* attempt to justify this history, an alternative option is to frame the Tasmanian situation as an isolated case and contrast the carnage with the 'success' of Robinson's ostensibly benevolent approach. As with *A Junior History* above, *Colony to Nation* opts for the latter technique:

Originally peaceable, friendly people, the Tasmanian aborigines were provoked by the outrageous conduct of many of the convicts to such an extent that the bitterest hatred developed between the two races, with killings on either side ... George Robinson, a warm-hearted working man ..., was then allowed by Arthur to approach the problem from a more humanitarian angle ... he finally prevailed upon almost all the blacks, by his patience and kindly confidence, to surrender to the authorities ...

Colony to Nation 1960, 74-5

This extract deploys a discourse of scapegoating to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' Whites. The initiation of violence is blamed solely on convicts, leaving the

colonising mission untarnished. Subsequent to the 'outrageous conduct of ... the convicts', the violence is depicted as balanced. This discourse of equivalence ignores the unequal power relations that existed between the two groups (Marcus 1999, 107). A final tactic to revalorise whiteness is the assertion of White exceptionalism by reproducing a favourable account of Robinson's 'conciliatory mission'.

Similar strategies are deployed by *Landmarks* in its section on the White colonisation of Tasmania. Discourses of White benevolence and disregard emphasise the good intentions of the British and the benefits to the White economy of a landscape devoid of Aborigines, eliding the devastating impact of colonisation on Aborigines:

In 1830 Arthur tried to solve this problem [settler violence towards Aborigines] and attempted to round up the Aborigines. His famous 'Black Drive' cost £35 000 and captured only two Aborigines. With the best of intentions, a Methodist minister named Robinson persuaded about 200 of the dying race to go to Flinders Island. Eventually the problem was 'solved' when in 1888 the last Tasmanian Aborigine died. Van Diemen's Land prospered after its early problems.

Landmarks 1969, 51

The disregard shown to Aborigines is evident in the subsequent demonstration of prosperity which highlights increases in the population of Whites, sheep and acres under cultivation. In contrast, while *The Land They Found* (1979, 132) portrays Robinson favourably: 'gentle persuasion won where warfare had not', the devastating impact of exiling the palawa on Flinders Island is noted.

Colony to Nation's blinkered portrayal of Robinson is mirrored in its depiction of Phillip, whose self-serving aims in befriending the Eora are ignored while his good intentions are emphasised. This distortion enables colonisation to be constructed as peaceful; violence in New South Wales is omitted entirely by portraying the 'natives' as 'cowardly' (1960, 24) and 'curious rather than hostile' (1960, 35) such that Phillip's '[i]nstructions urging him to take steps to protect the settlement from them proved quite unnecessary' (1960, 34). Conflict is also evaded by framing Philip as benevolent through the selective inclusion and omission of evidence. For example, Phillip's 'intention of protecting any natives found in the Colony' (1960, 34) is emphasised while his order to kill and behead ten Aborigines as retribution for the death of his gamekeeper (Stanner 1979, 199) is omitted. Highlighting Phillip's initial intentions rather than his subsequent decisions enables his approach to be framed as 'humane' (1960, 35; see below). Even the kidnapping of Bennilong [sic] is portrayed as

harmless: '[w]ishing to know more about them, Phillip ordered the capture of two natives, so that their language could be learnt' (1960, 35). Disregard is evident in this construction in which Aborigines are framed as objects in the service of Whites (Hage 1998, 18). Contesting Phillip's historical reputation as benevolent, Stanner argues that Phillip's forbearance lasted only while he believed Aboriginal assistance to be essential for the colony's survival. Stanner (1979, 199) cites Watkin Tench for a more candid explanation of Phillip's motivation for kidnap: 'to find out through them what resources the country has that might prolong the colony's weakening vitality'. The partisan portrayal of Phillip and the elision of violence in this text perpetuates ignorance in the students to whom it is taught. Moreover, the ignorance learnt is not random. Rather, it functions to position Whites as benevolent and shore up White possession. Narrated through a White perspective, Whites are positioned as the central actors and focus of Australian history, while the contribution of Aborigines is marginalised and Aborigines themselves treated with disregard.

Determination to portray White elites favourably is evident in the excuses given for later governors' treatment of Aborigines:

None of Phillip's immediate successors had his humane approach to "the Indians" as they were then known. It is doubtful whether later governments could have followed Phillip's example as the extension of settlement proceeded far from Sydney.

Colony to Nation 1960, 35

Without giving any details of approaches other than Phillip's, they are nevertheless legitimised as inevitable. The difference in the portrayal of Phillip and subsequent governors is noteworthy. Given that later governors' ostensibly less 'humane' approaches to Aborigines are justified, the question is raised as to why it was felt necessary to inaccurately eulogise Phillip. Arguably, there was a perceived need to portray White intentions as benevolent, even if that resolve was later constructed as impractical.

A Map History admits frontier violence but frames it as transient – limited to 'the early days of settlement' – with progressive improvement since:

In the early days of settlement their numbers rapidly declined. They were not regarded as human beings and were slaughtered; they were robbed of their land; and they caught the diseases the white man introduced.

A Map History 1963, 39

This is a discourse of historical discontinuity which attempts to redeem whiteness by contrasting contemporary whiteness with the past. Following the admission of White atrocities in the extract above, the remaining text notes attempts to 'help them' (1963, 39). Over three times as much space in the text is devoted to evidence of White benevolence in comparison to the above admission of violence. In this way, frontier violence is depicted as a temporary anomaly, a low-point from which continual improvement is being made. However, as Hughes (2007, 203) notes in reference to the United States, rather than a rosy picture of linear progression, race relations are 'a messy and continual struggle over power that encompasses both progress and ... significant steps backward in terms of racial justice'. In the third edition (1978, 41) of this text, further progress is noted, such as the 1967 referendum, self-determination, reserves, royalties and land rights.

Landmarks has an inconsistent narrative regarding frontier violence. On the one hand, discourses of deficiency depict Aborigines as incapable of resisting dispossession while, on the other, conflict over land is noted. In the latter case, a discourse of equivalence intimates that the two sides were evenly matched:

When white men 'discovered' and 'settled' Australia they found it easy to take the land from the original inhabitants. The Aborigines were not prepared for war, and even if they had been, their spears would have been no match for the white man's muskets ... The occupation of the land by the squatters in the 1830s and 1840s led to increasing conflict. Each side took direct action with predictable results.

Landmarks 1969, 164

Although two specific massacres are outlined, whiteness is not impugned. Rather, on both occasions discourses of White benevolence are deployed to legitimise White actions and highlight reformation:

[T]he slaughter of Aborigines on the Wannon property of the Whyte brothers, near Hamilton, in 1840 ... resulted in the death of thirty-six blacks, none of the white men being seriously wounded. The Whytes duly reported the circumstances to the authorities ... but after due enquiry he [the Crown Prosecutor] came to the conclusion there was no case ... although it was with some show of justice maintained that several of the blacks had been shot when the conflict was over and the sheep recovered.

Landmarks 1969, 164-5

Between 1926 and 1934 a series of incidents stirred the public conscience. In 1928, for example, Aborigines killed a dingo shooter. An expedition of white men shot

thirty-two Aboriginal men and women in retaliation. The court of enquiry held that the shootings were justified. *Landmarks* 1969, 165

In both extracts, the legality of White violence trumps consideration for those who were murdered, demonstrating that disregard for Aborigines was encoded into the White legal system. In other words, disregard was/is institutionalised and normalised. The third edition of *Landmarks*, published in 1987, corrects some of the errors promulgated in previous editions, arguing that the belief 'that the invasion was achieved without a great deal of violence ... is untrue' (1987, 7) and that 'Aborigines proved to be formidable foes' (1987, 9). In this edition, frontier violence in Tasmania and Victoria is discussed and depicted as guerrilla warfare.

In summary, the strategies used by texts in this section include framing Whites as benevolent instead of malevolent by stressing White goodwill and the impetus to reformation produced by violence while disregarding Aboriginal experiences. Whiteness is also shielded from critique by scapegoating particular Whites such as convicts, framing violence as sporadic rather than systematic by only acknowledging limited examples of White violence and positioning both sides as evenly matched via a discourse of equivalence.

Massacre

Under this theme, I categorise constructions of violence which stress the slaughter of Aborigines while minimising Aboriginal agency. *Australia's Two Centuries* is the only text analysed in this section. The two other texts in my sample that frame violence as massacre on some occasions also portray violence as warfare on others (see Table Seven, page 161). These texts are discussed in the following section on warfare.

The only specific example of violence cited in *Australia's Two Centuries* (1977, 36) is the Myall Creek massacre. In this example, White brutality is redeemed, or at least tempered, by highlighting the putative impartiality of the White justice system: '[t]he white men responsible were convicted and later executed'. The text fails to note the exceptional circumstances of convicting perpetrators of Aboriginal massacres. This discourse of White benevolence results in the misleading implication that Whites were routinely brought to justice for murdering Aborigines. Also included is a simplified excerpt from Curr's (1886) *The Australian Race* which explains conflict as the result of irreconcilable conflict over land, with the impossible predicament of Aborigines following White colonisation emphasised:

The tribe finds that strangers from another race have located themselves on their land. Worse than this, they have brought a great many animals which eat the roots and vegetables which are the tribe's food. The Black man is threatened with war by the White stranger if he kills the animals. He is also threatened with war if he intrudes on the lands of a neighbouring tribe. He thus has a choice: certain death from starvation and probable death from the rifle. He naturally chooses the latter.

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 36

This is a discourse of anti-racism which disrupts White solipsism. However, the use of this perspective is inconsistent. For example, several pages earlier Aborigines are framed as a problem for White colonists (1977, 25).

Warfare

Warfare refers to frontier violence portrayed as two-sided, with anti-racist discourses of White deficiency, Aboriginal possession and agency in conducting defensive warfare emphasised. Although many of these texts cite massacres, Aboriginal retaliation is also noted. Portraying conflict as warfare is the dominant theme in later texts in my sample.

A Down Under Story is the first text in my sample to frame individual Aborigines as warriors (see Figure Twenty-Four). Although symbols of Aboriginality are depicted (spears, fire, snake, boomerang) in Figure Twenty-Four rather than people, agency is nevertheless attributed to Aborigines. Moreover, in subsequent examples of warfare, people are depicted. Constructing Aborigines as opposing invasion is more accurate than the standard narrative of peaceful British settlement. Nevertheless, this is the only form of agency attributed to Aborigines. A further discourse of anti-racism evident in this extract is White deficiency in which Whites are portrayed as ignorant or savage. This is also the first text in my sample to emphasise the customary immunity of Whites to prosecution for murdering Aborigines by noting the exceptional situation of hanging the perpetrators of the Myall Creek massacre (1976, 9).



Figure 24: untitled (*A Down Under Story* 1976, 1)

Although included in this section on warfare, in some ways *Their Ghosts May be Heard* attempts to excuse violence. This text is also unique among the texts in this section for its refusal to link violence to dispossession, which ensures that White

possession is not problematised. Frontier violence is downgraded to ‘clashes’, with eight ‘clashes’ at different locations around Australia noted. A discourse of equivalence shields Whites from censure by framing violence as a cycle of ongoing retribution by both parties (see Figure Twenty-Five). This construction of violence as ‘balanced’ ignores the unequal power relations that existed between the two groups. Similarly, while misunderstandings occurred on both sides, positioning these errors as similar ignores ‘the different results that flowed from them’ (Marcus 1999, 107).



Figure 25: Black against white on the frontier (*Their Ghosts May be Heard*, Second Edition 1994, 195)

The accompanying text by the same authors, *Was It Only Yesterday*, deploys a discourse of White deficiency to portray Whites negatively. While dispossession is acknowledged however, frontier violence is only referenced obliquely as ‘treat[ing] Aboriginals [sic] badly’. Moreover, locating the offensive behaviour of Whites in the past via a discourse of historical discontinuity ensures that contemporary whiteness is affirmed rather than disrupted:

White people have treated Aboriginals badly. They took Aboriginal land. This destroyed tribal life. The brought new diseases like smallpox, measles and alcoholism.

Was It Only Yesterday 1983, 185

The remaining texts in this section explicitly link violence to dispossession, thereby inferring Aboriginal possession. For example, *The Land They Found* (1979, 51) notes that, despite Phillip’s hopes to ‘live in peace with the aborigines ...’,

[t]he aborigines did not like to see their tribal land invaded ... They lost their initial curiosity and awe ... when they saw their land taken, and the game hunted and driven off. They became hostile. *The Land They Found* 1979, 51

The impossibility of reconciling Phillip's hopes of peace with dispossession however, is absent. A latter section on early days in Tasmania links Aboriginal retaliation to brutal treatment by Whites (1979, 132).

Voices from the Past (1994, 60) explains violence in terms of Aboriginal reliance on hunting sheep and cattle following dispossession from 'traditional food sources', with subsequent reprisals from 'European settlers'.⁸ Later in the text however, dispossession is overlooked as this reliance is framed as theft (1994, 140). For example, out of a list of twenty-four 'hostilities carried out by Aborigines in the Maryborough area of present-day Queensland' (1994, 141) all but four mention robbery.

White brutality is highlighted in the 'notorious' Myall Creek massacre, with the conviction of 'Europeans' noted as 'very unusual at this time' (1994, 140). In contrast to this direct admission of massacre, at other times various strategies are deployed to redeem whiteness. Notwithstanding that the Battle of Pinjarra is introduced by stating that 'murders on each side continued', the 'battle' is depicted as an attack by the 'mounted police and soldiers against the unarmed Murray River Aborigines' (1994, 60). Immediately following this description of a one-sided 'battle' however, constructions of White deficiency are tempered through discourses of White benevolence. For example, whiteness is revalorised by noting attempts to 'help or provide for the Aborigines'. Whiteness is also protected via a discourse of scapegoating which holds Native Police culpable (1994, 142) or, in the case of Whites, leaving no agent responsible through the use of passive constructions. For example, although the text admits that 'Aborigines died as their land was taken violently from them' (1994, 136), this dispossession and death are not linked to White actors. On another occasion, European goods are portrayed as the killers rather than the Europeans themselves: 'European bullets, knives and poison (often hidden in flour) killed many Aborigines' (1994, 140).

⁸ This text marks the beginning of a new phase in which the use of the deracialised and inaccurate (Jupp 2007, 4) term 'European' is substituted for 'White'. This shift reflected a move away from imagining Australianness in terms of race or Britishness, to an emphasis on culture in which European cultures were assumed to be broadly similar, as least in comparison to non-European ones (Stratton 1999, 164).

The remaining texts in my sample depict frontier violence as warfare, employing discourses of anti-racism to emphasise Aboriginal agency:

Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion has not been given the respect it deserves. It was a heroic defence of rights and beliefs in the face of impossible odds ...
SOSE 3 1998, 51

Frontier violence is discussed in four units in *SOSE 3*, with conflict related to dispossession: 'Aborigines have had wholesale robbery of territory committed upon them' (1998, 53). Indeed, the text contests constructions of violence as inevitable:

European settlers, including the Curr family in central Victoria, ... 'paid' for the use of the land by regularly giving the Aborigines animals which they could kill for food.
SOSE 3 1998, 58

In later Jacaranda texts (*SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 17; *Humanities Alive 3* 2006, 10) however, the reported 'kindness and friendship shown ... by the pioneer Edward Curr' is framed as an example of White benevolence: '[n]ot all new settlers were heartless though'. Within the context of a continent-wide culture of massacre, the attempt to redeem whiteness by highlighting the anomalous behaviour of one particular family is disingenuous.

Nevertheless, rather than being excused or disclosed perfunctorily, Aboriginal-White conflict is centred in *SOSE 3*'s chapter on colonisation as its title 'Settlement and conflict' intimates. Incorporating units on frontier violence and massacre within chapters on 'settlement' disrupts constructions of White colonisation as benign and well intentioned. This chapter identifies Mosquito and Windradyne as 'resistance leaders' and includes a brief description of Pemulwoy's 'resistance' to settlement (1998, 59). In addition to recognising non-White agency, these narratives disrupt constructions of pan-Aboriginality by highlighting individuality. However, substituting the term 'resistance leaders' for 'warriors' is a strategy of minimisation which diminishes these leaders' achievements and refuses to name the conflict as war. A further strategy of minimisation is the construction of native police as the main party responsible for massacres via a discourse of scapegoating (see below).

In comparison to Robinson's construction as benevolent in earlier texts (see pages 148-149 above), *SOSE 3* notes that Robinson was 'a controversial figure ... [whose] work has been praised by some and condemned by others' (1998, 54). The changing

portrayal of Robinson is an example of wider changes in history texts over the decades of my sample. Rather than the blinkered admiration of celebratory texts, Robinson's actions are framed as contentious at best. In addition to challenging the steadfast celebratory tone of earlier texts, issues are represented as complex with different interpretations possible, as opposed to a single narrative positioned as 'truth'. A further contrast with previous texts is *SOSE 3*'s use of the term murder, rather than dehumanised terms such as 'killed off' (see page 130):

... [i]n Victoria alone, an estimated minimum of 1200 Aborigines were murdered between 1835 and 1850, often in organised raids that decimated whole clans.
SOSE 3 1998, 58

Primary sources attest to atrocities committed by Whites:

I can remember when they [Europeans] used to shoot down the blacks in this colony as you would do kangaroos, all because they killed a few sheep. I remember down in the Port District, when the four Parks and three other men, I was one of them, shot 69 in one afternoon.
SOSE 3 1998, 60

In contrast to these discourses of White deficiency however, the final unit dealing with frontier violence cites disease as the main cause of depopulation:

... [a]lthough there was widespread violence, disease was the main cause of the rapid decline in Aboriginal numbers.
SOSE 3 1998, 61

Moreover, non-Whites are framed as at least partly responsible for both these factors. Discourses of scapegoating construct Native Police as 'mobile assassination squads', while Macassans are held liable for disease:

... [s]mallpox, introduced into Australia by Macassan sailors, was possibly the main killer; it may have killed 50 per cent of the Victorian Aborigines.
SOSE 3 1998, 61

No evidence is provided to support the latter claim. Indeed, earlier in the text Macassan fishing in northern Australia is stated as occurring from the sixteenth century (1998, 18). However, Aborigines in south-east Australia were not afflicted by smallpox until the arrival of the British. Hence, it seems implausible to attribute

these deaths to Macassans (see Reynolds 2001 for a cogent refutation of the Macassan hypothesis).

As in *SOSE 3*, frontier violence is discussed in four units in *SOSE Alive History 2*. Once again, conflict is linked to dispossession: '[a]t the heart of most of the killings was a struggle for land' (2005, 16). Discourses of anti-racism are prominent in sketches of the Myall Creek and Kurnai massacres (2005, 18-19) and the observation that 'Indigenous people' were killed for sport (2005, 17). Native Police are included in the unit 'Deadly encounters', intimating culpability for Aboriginal deaths without being expressly stated. Rather than being restricted to the colonial era, frontier violence is also mentioned in a later unit on reconciliation, thereby linking contemporary Aboriginal issues obliquely with past experiences:

... [i]n the early decades of European settlement, Indigenous peoples were severely oppressed. Most were moved off their land and many were murdered and badly treated.

SOSE Alive History 2 2005, 188

On the other hand, a discourse of historical discontinuity locates oppression in the past, precluding the suggestion of contemporary oppression. Moreover, the recognition of Aboriginal perspectives is siloed in Aboriginal chapters. For example, the unit 'the hard years' details the struggles of White colonisers. The impact of colonisation on Aborigines is absent. Instead 'increasingly hostile Indigenous people' (2005, 36) are framed as a problem for colonisers. Similarly, a unit of post-World War II immigration states that '[w]ar and its devastation are largely unknown in this country' (2005, 172), denying frontier violence altogether.

Humanities Alive 3 reproduces the four units on frontier violence in *SOSE Alive History 2*. In addition, a small section on Indigenous resistance in 'Deadly encounters' is extended to form a distinct unit covering the feats of Pemulwuy and Yagan. Positioning Pemulwuy and Yagan as heroic warriors disrupts White exceptionalism. In contrast, *Humanities 3* (2007, 16-17) dedicates only one unit to frontier violence, 'Resistance'. However, conflict is linked to dispossession in the introduction to the unit (2007, 2) and a section on British expansion (2007, 8-9, 16). White brutality is minimised by omitting details of any specific massacres:

The resistance was so feared that Europeans referred to the conflict as the 'Black War' on the frontier. By 1850, European expansion had brought terrible

destruction to the Aboriginal tribes of Victoria with nearly half their population dead.

Humanities 3 2007, 17

Once again, a potentially disruptive discourse of White deficiency is offset by historical discontinuity. The structure of *Humanities 3*, in which the first two chapters of 'Alive' texts are merged into one shorter chapter, reduces overall content about Aborigines both preceding and following colonisation. Nevertheless, the material that is present incorporates discourses of anti-racism, such as Aboriginal possession. For example, *terra nullius* is refuted by framing Botany Bay as the Bay of Gamay and Cook's landing site as 'the land of the Eora and Dharawal people' (*Humanities 3* 2007, 7). Similarly, Sydney harbour is described as 'at the centre of the Gadigal lands' (*Humanities 3* 2007, 8). By identifying particular language groups, these constructions also disrupt pan-Aboriginality. Moreover, in contrast to the other texts from this decade, the battle for survival following colonisation is not focused solely on Whites:

By the first winter of 1788, the Aboriginal communities of the Sydney region began to experience hardship and hunger. The European community had taken the best land and the local Aboriginal communities were forced to move onto the lands of neighbouring clans for food. The battle for survival had begun ...

Humanities 3 2007, 10

Summary

The various strategies deployed in narratives of frontier violence are shown in Table Seven. The latter five columns show which texts use each of the dominant strategies outlined in the previous section. Columns three-five show texts which primarily attempt to redeem whiteness while the final two columns indicate texts which depict violence as massacre or warfare. A temporal pattern is revealed by Table Seven: the earlier texts in my sample use strategies to revalorise whiteness: omitting or excusing White violence or portraying Whites as benevolent rather than malevolent by framing violence as spurring reformation. In contrast, later texts construct violence as either one-sided massacre or warfare. With the exception of the most recent first edition in my sample, *Humanities 3*, these texts have increased coverage of frontier violence. No texts mention sexual violence.

Table 7: Dominant themes of White violence in texts covering pre-20th century history

Decade	Title	Absent	Excused	Spurred reform	Massacre	Warfare
1950s	A Junior History			●		
	Out of the Mist		Inevitable			
1960s	Colony to Nation		Convicts	●		
	Soc Studies Sec Schools		Guileless			
	A Map History		Transient	●		
	Landmarks		Legitimate	●		
1970s	Down Under Story					●
	Australia's 2 Centuries				●	
	Australia's Frontiers	●		●		
	The Land They Found					●
1980s	Ghosts May Be Heard					●
1990s	Voices from the Past		Nat Police			●
	SOSE 3		Nat Police		●	●
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2				●	●
	Humanities Alive 3					●
	Humanities 3					●

In this section on frontier violence, I have demonstrated that earlier texts in my sample deployed redemptive narratives of White benevolence and exceptionalism and discourses of otherness (non-White deficiency, disregard), reversal and minimisation (historical discontinuity, equivalence, scapegoating) to excuse White violence thereby revalorising whiteness and bolstering White possession. In contrast, later texts adopted disruptive discourses of anti-racism to contest these constructions to varying extents: discourses of White deficiency highlight White brutality while discourses of non-White agency and possession position Aborigines as warriors defying dispossession and death. These practices are depicted in Chart Six.

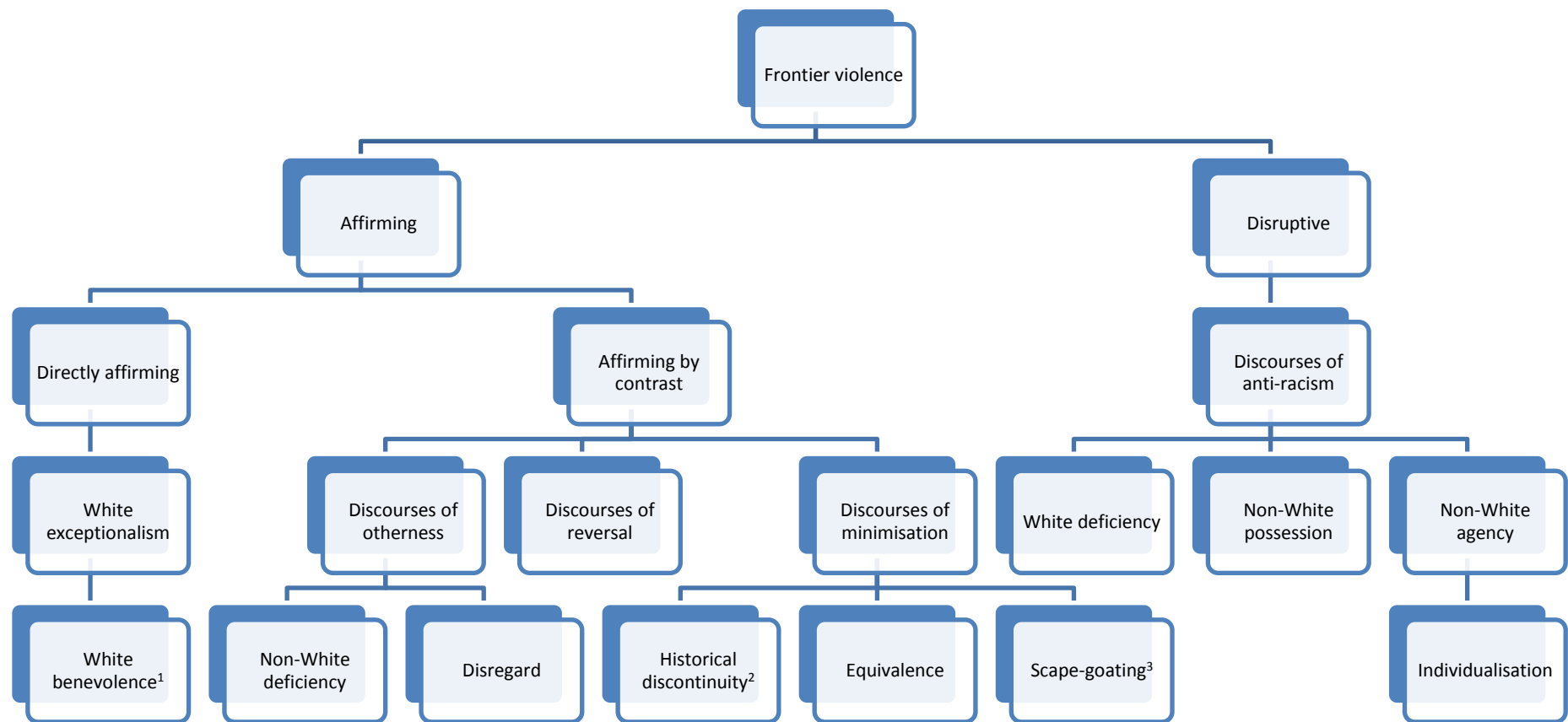


Chart 6: Discourses of frontier violence in textbooks covering pre-20th century history

1. **White benevolence:** redemptive narratives which construct Whites as benign and well-intentioned
2. **Historical discontinuity:** redemptive narratives that locate White deficiency in the past
3. **Scapegoating:** redemptive narratives that differentiate the White norm from particular 'bad' Whites, such as convicts

Conclusion

Reflecting the broad socio-cultural shift from White Australia to multiculturalism, White constructions of Aboriginality change over the time period of my sample. For example, in earlier texts constructions of Aborigines reflected and supported the hubris and epistemological certainty of White solipsism. In these texts, the fantasy of White exceptionalism is accompanied by a refusal to know the other. Ignorance is recycled via an absence of representations of Aboriginality or misinformation. In contrast, later texts demonstrate an attempt to address the 'great Australian silence' towards Aborigines in Australian history which Stanner (2009, 189) identified in his 1968 Boyer Lectures. In these texts, absences and misinformation are remedied to some extent. Moreover, 'racist and uncomprehending representations of Aboriginality common in nineteenth-century texts' are rejected in favour of 'more informed and respectful treatments' (Bradford 2001, 5). Nevertheless, the erasure of racial discourse in the multicultural era, as least in reference to Whites, has cultivated a new type of White ignorance which may be more accurately typified as reflecting Proctor's (2008, 3) 'lost realm'.

Explicit constructions of difference between Aborigines and Whites decrease over my sample. For example, early texts deploy civilisation and savagery not only to manufacture difference, but to impute a hierarchical relationship to this difference. In later texts however, the apparent need to explicitly and repeatedly assert White superiority is absent. Consequently, overt constructions of civilisation and savagery are omitted, and the White anthropological and paternalistic gaze moderated. As White exceptionalism is reduced, Aboriginal achievement is acknowledged rather than diminished. In addition, these texts reduce racialisation and dehumanisation, while White colonist violence is admitted without being excused or eclipsed by White benevolence.

The postmodern turn is evident in the acknowledgement of differing perspectives and the subsequent reduction in categorical assertions in post-1970s texts. These changes have facilitated the acceptability of discourses of anti-racism. For example, recent texts demonstrate genuine attempts to produce narratives which represent diverse perspectives and peoples, depicting a more complex story of history in which the struggles of early White colonists are juxtaposed with their ignorance and disregard for Aborigines, while Aborigines are framed as heroic defenders of their ancestral land. Incorporating Aboriginal perspectives disrupts the celebratory perspective as, for example, constructions of White exceptionalism in narratives of

'exploration' are omitted and settlement is rebranded as invasion. However, discourses of anti-racism do not completely replace existing discourses. For example, in narratives of frontier violence, as discourses of anti-racism increase so do discourses of White benevolence, historical discontinuity and scapegoating which excuse Aboriginal depopulation. These changes produce contradictory constructions which are only partially offset by the omission of narratives of 'exploration' in the 2000s. A further limitation to post-1970s texts is that narratives of Aboriginality continue, by and large, to be siloed from the main narrative of national development. Consequently, Aborigines remain positioned as other to normative (White) Australianness and the critical input of Aborigines to national development is obscured.

According to Stanner (1979, 218), 'our [White] folklore about the Aborigines ... mixes truth, half-truth and untruth into hard little concretions of faith that defy dissolution by better knowledge'. I agree with Stanner's assertion and contend that, in public forums, 'better knowledge' is often trumped by misinformation circulated for political expediency. In reference solely to secondary school social science texts however, my research indicates that, to limited extents, texts evidence the inclusion of 'better knowledge' over time, so that shared 'truths' of Aboriginality more closely approximate reality. Although school texts are only one among many media for disseminating shared social facts, they are powerfully positioned to influence students in Australian secondary schools – a 'vast "captive" audience' (Silverman 1992, 203). As the education of greater proportions of the Australian public is influenced by these texts it is to be hoped that this 'better knowledge' comes to influence public forums as well.

While the above improvements are encouraging, it took decades after the publication of revisionist histories for much of this 'better knowledge' (Stanner 1979, 218) to be incorporated in secondary school textbooks. Moreover, none of these changes challenge normative whiteness. Indeed, as explicit constructions of superiority lessen, whiteness moves from a symbol of superiority to one of normality. Overall, texts continue to centre White perspectives and, to varying degrees, construct Australianness as White.

Chapter Six: Narratives of Discovery & Exploration

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse continuities and changes to narratives of discovery and exploration in Australian history texts. Although the 'discovery' of the Australian landmass in the seventeenth century was news to Europeans, the land was already intimately known to Aborigines. Notions of 'discovery' and 'exploration' in relation to the Australian continent in the last few hundred years are meaningful only if Aboriginal perspectives are ignored. White solipsism renders non-White experiences invisible so that it 'becomes possible to speak with no sense of absurdity of "empty" lands that are actually teeming with millions of people, of "discovering" countries whose inhabitants already exist' (Mills 2007, 27). Rather than a lack of knowledge about the presence of Aborigines however, ignorance in this context refers to disregard; an absence of recognition rather than an absence of knowledge.

While less explicit than overt claims of White superiority, viewing events and people solely from a White perspective centres Whites and White experiences. In terms of Proctor's (2008, 3) typology of ignorance, disregard evidences the 'lost realm' of selective choice and inattention. However, constructions of 'discovery' and 'exploration' which ignore Aborigines may also be interpreted as a deliberately engineered strategic ploy – Proctor's third type of ignorance – to assert White possession. Narratives of 'discovery' and 'exploration' constitute aspects of legal and practical claims of ownership which 'supplanting societies' evoke to dispossess people of their land (Day 2005, 10-13). Whereas legal claims are signalled by symbolic acts such as raising a flag, cutting down a tree or reading a proclamation, practical assertions of ownership are established by, among other things, 'exploring the territory's furthest reaches [and] naming its geographic and other features ...' (Day 2005, 10-11). Disregard of Aborigines is essential to these claims of ownership. The embedded and shared nature of disregard is evident in discourses of solipsism where the word 'White' is absent but implicitly understood, such as the use of discovery for 'White discovery' or exploration for 'White exploration'.

White solipsism/disregard is also evident in the socio-spatial epistemology of whiteness (Lobo 2014, 721) in which White 'ontological expansiveness' (Sullivan 2006) is complemented by incomprehensibility regarding non-White sovereignty. The lesser humanity accorded to non-Whites (Mills 2007, 11) renders land occupied by non-Whites as *terra nullius* – belonging to no-one (Buchan & Heath 2006, 6). In

contrast, Du Bois (1998 [1920], 185) states that 'whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!'. Ontologically expansive Whites assume that all space is available for their/our possession:

... white people tend to act and think as if all spaces – whether geographical, psychical, linguistic, economic, spiritual, bodily, or otherwise – are or should be available for them to move in and out of as they wish. Sullivan 2006, 10

The divergent treatment afforded to Whites and non-Whites (Mills 2007, 11) is evident in the White response to the invasion of land occupied by Whites in comparison to land occupied by non-Whites. For example, historical narratives frame the White invasion of land occupied by non-Whites – putatively unowned land – as 'opening up' the land. Ontological expansiveness coupled with disregard for non-Whites positions land as available for possession by the first White power that claims it. *A Junior History* (1950, 40), for example, constructs the possession of Australia as a dispute between the British and the French which functions to eclipse any question of Aboriginal sovereignty.

Similarly, the contemporary expansion of Whites into non-White countries is underpinned by a conviction in White exceptionalism and the construction of White expansion as a progressive good. For example, recent aggressive incursions of Whites into countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq are constructed as beneficial – generating democracy and freedom (Greenwald 2016; Nicoll 2004b). In contrast, past and present incursions into White lands are framed as invasion. For example, Nazi (White) expansion into White countries during World War II is derided as the aggressive territorial expansion of lebensraum. Mills (1997, 103) contests the different treatment of Nazi bellicosity, arguing that the only unique aspect of Nazi actions is that they were enacted in Europe, against Whites, rather than in the colonial world against non-Whites. In the current era the language of invasion is readily evoked in the case of unregulated arrivals of non-Whites in White countries, regardless of motive. For example, the arrival in Australia by sea of non-Whites fleeing the consequences of war is deemed to be an invasion (Carter 2006, 25). This construction is in marked contrast to the non-aggressive framing of the White military invasion causing the exodus.

Perhaps the most extreme example of White solipsism is the White propensity to claim and re-name 'newly discovered' land with no regard for the sovereignty of the

extant (non-White) peoples (Elder 2007). Re-naming geographical sites or features by Whites is an act of possession which denies Aboriginal ownership and obscures the fallacy of 'discovery', overriding Aboriginal names with those bestowed by elite White males. Not incoincidentally, the names given often honoured these men (see Figure Two, page 56). Overriding Aboriginal place names obscures intimate Aboriginal knowledge of these areas, thereby denying Aboriginal sovereignty. Yet, as Muecke (1992, 5-6) explains, even the current extensive mapping of suburban areas fails to match Aboriginal knowing:

The Sydney area even now is probably charted in no more detail in the street directory, with its suburbs and street-names, than the country was 200 years ago.

Until 2007, all the texts in my sample uncritically reiterated White place names. As explained in the previous chapter however, *Humanities 3* (2007, 7) frames Captain Cook as sailing into the Bay of Gamay rather than Botany Bay and notes that Cook 'disembarked on the land of the Eora and Dharawal people'. These changes represent a marked discursive shift. Whereas earlier texts included information *about* Aborigines, these constructions centre Aboriginal perspectives. Moreover, rather than reinscribing *terra nullius*, Aboriginal sovereignty is implicitly suggested.

As this example illustrates, there is a partial moderating of White solipsism over the time period of my sample. For example, texts from the White Australia era centre White experiences by referring to Australia as new or unknown land, and emphasise White 'discovery' and 'exploration', thereby discursively obliterating Aborigines. In contrast, to varying degrees, texts published in the multicultural era incorporate Aboriginal perspectives. This development not only contests some previously accepted misinformation but engenders a new frame of reference through which events are interpreted. Discourses become meaningful within a discursive sphere. Meanings are not intrinsic to discourses, but arise from 'interactions between social groups and the complex societal structures in which the discourse is embedded' (Phillips & Hardy 1992, 4). Discursive repertoires can 'reinforce, contradict, conceal, explain, or "explain away" the materiality or the history of a given situation' (Frankenberg 1993, 2). Consequently, different discursive repertoires produce different representations of particular events. The power of discursive repertoires to conceal and 'explain away' is evident in the following extract from *A Junior History*, an extended quote from Cook detailing his difficulty getting ashore in April 1770 at the Bay of Gamay (Botany Bay) due to Aboriginal opposition:

As we approached the shore they all made off except two men who seemed resolved to oppose our landing. As soon as I saw this I ordered the boats to lay upon their oars in order to speak to them; but this was to little purpose for we could not understand one word they said. We then threw them some nails, beads, etc., ashore, which they took up and seemed not ill pleased with, in so much that I thought that they beckoned to us to come ashore; but in this we were mistaken, for as soon as we put the boat in they again came to oppose us, upon which I fired a musket between the two, which had no other effect than to make them retire back, where bundles of their darts lay, and one of them took up a stone and threw it at us, which caused my firing a second musket, loaded with small shot; and although some of the shot struck the man yet it had no other effect than making him lay hold on a target. Immediately after this we landed, which we had no sooner done that they throwed two darts at us; this obliged me to fire a third shot, soon after which they both made off but not in such haste but that we might have taken one.

A Junior History 1950, 20

Rendered differently (as in Figure Twenty-Four, page 154), this encounter could unsettle the legitimacy of Cook's expedition, illustrate incipient Aboriginal resistance to British invasion and subsequent British violence, and demonstrate Cook's disregard for Aborigines. Its framing, however, ensures that these readings are largely inscrutable, endorsing British imperialism instead. The materiality of Aboriginal opposition to Cook's landing is 'explained away' by positioning it as inconvenient rather than an indication of Aboriginal sovereignty. In order to be accepted, discourses have to be interpreted as meaningful by complying with 'historically established normative understandings' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 13); that is, 'common sense' (Nairn & McCreanor 1991, 247; Tuffin 2008, 597). Although indications of Aboriginal sovereignty are present in the extract above, the broader interpretive framework – *terra nullius* and White possession – in which this discourse is embedded renders these signals incomprehensible. In contrast, read through discursive repertoires in which *terra nullius* is fiction and White discovery solipsistic, Aboriginal sovereignty and opposition to British intrusion are asserted. In this chapter, I examine the relative assertion of White and Aboriginal perspectives in discourses of 'discovery' and 'exploration'.

Discovery & possession

Until the 1970s, Australian history was constructed as beginning with White 'voyages of discovery'. Although some of these texts acknowledge Aboriginal occupation of Australia prior to British colonisation, this concession is tokenistic –

fleeting and immediately contradicted – and does not disrupt the overarching narrative of White ‘discovery’, development and possession. From the 1970s, a new pattern was established: most texts acknowledge pre-White history in an initial chapter. Although more substantial than the tokenistic recognition of previous texts, these chapters also fail to interrupt the subsequent standard story of White ‘discovery’ and possession. For example, Aboriginal voyages of discovery are framed as migration, rather than being accorded the status of discovery. Finally, from the 2000s, the contradiction whereby pre-colonial Aboriginal life is recognised then subsequently ignored is solved by omitting White ‘discovery’ altogether. As discussed above, narratives of White ‘discovery’ cannot but negate Aboriginal perspectives. As such, these narratives are inherently problematic. Overall, these texts seem to eschew controversy by omitting narratives of White ‘discovery’, positioning Aborigines as migrants and framing Whites as ‘finding’, ‘visiting’ or ‘arriving’ rather than ‘discovering’ Australia. To limited extents, these counter-narratives critique and unsettle White possession. The initial three discovery tropes – history as White, tokenistic recognition and siloing – are discussed in turn in the following sections. Texts deploying counter-narratives are discussed at the end of each of these sections. Following this, I analyse discourses of ‘exploration’.

History as White

Since colonisation, Australian history was seen as one chapter in the larger story of British history (Macintyre & Clark 2003, 31) and was therefore constructed as beginning with the European ‘discovery’ of the continent and British colonisation. There was no place for Aboriginal history within this framework. Murdoch (cited Attwood 1996, xii) demonstrates this mindset in his 1917 textbook, *The Making of Australia: An Introductory History*:

When people talk about ‘the history of Australia’ they mean the history of the white people who have lived in Australia ... we should not stretch the term to make it include the history of dark-skinned wandering tribes who hurled boomerangs and ate snakes in their native land for long ages before the arrival of the first intruders from Europe ... for they have nothing that can be called a history.

This is a discourse of deficiency which derides Aborigines as sub-human others. Rather than people who make history, Aborigines are framed as living an

unchanging savage life. This sentiment is present in a milder form in two of the texts in my sample which equate 'true' history with written history:

'Prehistory' is the name given to the period before there were any systematic written records of man's doings. So far as Australia is concerned, there were no such records until the arrival of the first Europeans early in the seventeenth century. *Colony to Nation* 1960, 3

We give the name *Prehistoric Times* to the long ages that passed before the invention of writing. True *History* – written history – began when writing was invented about 3200 B.C. It is the story of civilised man. *SSSS, Book One* 1962, 69

In conjunction with positioning Australian history within the larger sphere of British history, the idea of 'true' history as written history explains the exclusion of Aboriginal history from early Australian history texts. Constructing history as 'the story of civilised man' is a discourse of White exceptionalism. This approach is adopted by three texts in my sample, all published prior to the 1970s. Beginning not with the millennia of Aboriginal civilisation but from the point of European 'discovery', these texts centre White actors. Aborigines are not entirely absent from these texts however, but mentioned sporadically as aids or hindrances to Whites, demonstrating Stanner's (1979, 202) observation of being positioned as a 'melancholy footnote' to Australian history texts. Pre-White history is also omitted in *A Down Under Story* (1975) and a second edition of *SOSE 3* (2000). However, these latter texts also omit White 'discovery' and, to a limited extent, present counter-narratives to discourses of White possession.

1950s

The initial chapter of *A Junior History*, 'Portuguese, Spaniards, and the Great South Land', equates Australian history with White history as does the opening line of the text:

The story of the coming of European ships into the seas which wash the coast of our own land may well begin with Henry the Navigator, a Portuguese prince of the fifteenth century. *A Junior History* 1950, 1

As in the case of *Colony to Nation* discussed in Chapter Five (see page 128), designating land as 'ours' prior to British claims of possession positions 'us' as White

and Australia as always, already a White possession. Indeed, British claims of possession are presented as unremarkable:

He [Cook] then landed on an island in the strait and took possession of the whole eastern coast under the name of New Wales. *A Junior History* 1950, 22

In 1829, the British Government removed all doubt to ownership by officially claiming the whole of Australia. *A Junior History* 1950, 40

These matter-of-fact claims of White possession invoke *terra nullius*, erasing Aborigines and Aboriginal sovereignty. Similarly, *terra nullius* is evoked to describe the apparent emptiness of northern Australia at the time of publication:

There are still vast spaces of the north and north-west to fill. They occupy about one-fifth of Australia. So far no one has brought forward a plan to fill them. *A Junior History* 1950, 134

Peopling invaded lands and developing their resources, as alluded to in this extract, are crucial components of practical assertions of ownership, supplementary to exploration and re-naming (Day 2005, 11).

1960s

The first unit in *A Map History*, 'Discovering Australia', excludes discovery of the continent by non-Europeans. Indeed, this title refers implicitly to White 'discovery'. This is a discourse of solipsism in which only White perspectives are validated. The sole mention of Aborigines in this unit is Dampier's disparaging 'miserablest people' remark (1963, 8). The erasure of Aborigines gives the concept of 'discovery' credibility and positions the land as available for White possession. Two maps in this section depict 'The Known World' (1963, 1, 4), suggesting the authors conflate what is known with what Whites know. On the other hand, the opening line of the text demonstrates awareness of the partiality of this knowing: 'In 1400 the people of Europe thought the world consisted of Europe, Asia and Africa. They had no idea that the Americas or Australia existed' (1963, 1). Nevertheless, non-White perspectives or experiences are omitted. The use of colour mirrors the bodies of the inhabitants of the 'known' and 'unknown' areas. In 'known' areas, sea is coloured blue, while land is left white. However, 'unknown' areas of both land and sea have

brown superimposed on them so that 'unknown' areas of sea are a darkened blue, while 'unknown' areas of land are brown.

White exceptionalism and disregard are apparent in framing colonial conquest and exploitation as beneficial to Europeans while ignoring devastation to non-Europeans:

In 1519 Hernando Cortes conquered the Aztec Kingdom in Mexico, and in 1531 Francisco Pizarro reached Peru and soon overthrew the Incas; and so two more colonies and great wealth were won for Spain. *A Map History* 1963, 3

In this extract, the only consequences of conquering and plundering the Aztec and Inca civilisations are White gains. Failure to note the impact of conquest on non-Whites evidences callous disregard for those who are not European. From this perspective, wealth trumps other considerations. Indeed, the European 'discovery' of Australia is framed as an accidental by-product of exploratory sea voyages motivated by the unproblematic desire to profit from trade:

European countries ... began to look for ways to go and fetch their own Eastern merchandise and so gain a share of the prosperity. *A Map History* 1963, 1

The capitalist imperative is framed as self-evident, rendering it natural rather than socially constructed and nullifying consideration of negative repercussions. The necessity of establishing 'trading posts' in order to protect European interests is also constructed as a given:

The Portuguese soon found themselves in conflict with the Arabs who had controlled the trade with India and China for centuries. Alfonso de Albuquerque was put in charge of operations against them. Between 1510 and 1515 he took Goa, Malacca ... and Ormuz; this gave Portugal complete control of trade in the East. Trading posts were also established in 1512 in Sumatra and Java and in Amboina in the Spice Islands ... *A Map History* 1963, 2

The putatively 'natural' impulses of capitalism justify Whites' rights to 'take' areas crucial to their trading interests. This is a blatantly White perspective, unlikely to be shared by the peoples whose land was taken. The innocuous-sounding establishment of 'trading posts' obscures the wars fought for control of these areas and the devastating implications for the indigenous peoples concerned. These peoples' defence of their lands is also omitted. Indeed, the sole actor in this extract is

an elite European male – Albuquerque ‘the Great’. Not only are indigenes erased but so too are Albuquerque’s subordinates.

Failing to recognise the partiality of their perspective, *A Map History*’s authors construct uniquely White logic as a matter-of-fact and White possession as unproblematic:

In 1580 ... Spain annexed Portugal. This left England and Holland, both enemies of Spain, free to attack Portuguese colonies: England in India, and Holland in the Spice Islands. *A Map History* 1963, 2

He [Cook] rounded Cape York on 22 August 1770, landed on a small island, and took possession of the whole coastline as ‘New Wales’; a few weeks later he changed the name to New South Wales. *A Map History* 1963, 9

Rather than being self-evident and universal as these extracts suggest, the norms governing engagement in war and ownership of land are socially constructed.

As in *A Map History*, the descriptor ‘White’ is also absent but implicit in *Landmarks*. For example, the first chapter is titled ‘Discovery and Settlement’ but refers only to White ‘discovery’ and ‘settlement’. Equating Australian history with White history establishes the narrative as White, with the reader assumed to be White. For example, the second chapter begins with the sentence, ‘The period between 1788 and 1821 was a hard one for our first settlers’ (*Landmarks* 1969, 9). The pronoun ‘our’ in this extract frames both authors and audience as White Australians. This functions to deny Aboriginality in the present, while omitting pre-European history erases Aborigines from the past. Discourses of White solipsism are also evident in subheadings within this chapter, such as ‘The Age of Exploration’ which refers only to European exploration, and ‘The Decision to Settle the New Land’ which constructs the land as new because it is new to Whites. Maps on pages one and two show how much of the ‘Great South Land’ had been ‘discovered’. By eliding Aboriginal knowledge of the land, these maps demonstrate that land must be subjected to the White gaze before it can be known. There are only three mentions of Aborigines in this chapter, on all occasions disparaged as objects of the White gaze (1969, 2-4). White possession is again positioned as unremarkable: ‘England had taken possession of the land but showed little interest in it’ (1969, 5).

In contrast to the usual positioning of the unmarked White perspective as universal however, on one occasion ignorance is positioned as particular to Whites:

Had Asian traders known of this idea [flat earth theory] they might well have smiled, because they had begun to gather sea-slugs from the northern coast of the land about which generations of Europeans pondered. *Landmarks* 1969, 1

This is the earliest text in my sample to correct the myth of the complete isolation of the Aborigines following the end of the ice age. Although framing Asian traders as smiling patronisingly at the childlike beliefs of Europeans momentarily unsettles the privileging of whiteness within the text, it is incongruent with the bulk of the text which reproduces and legitimates the White perspective. Moreover, even while disturbing whiteness, this extract continues to deny an Aboriginal presence. Cultural and economic exchange between Aborigines and Asians is reduced to Asians harvesting sea-slugs from a coastline ostensibly devoid of humans. While the Asians are described as traders, their trading partners are absent. Moreover, in contrast to the positioning of Europeans, Asian traders are not elevated to explorers who discovered the continent. Rather, Asians are framed as merely gathering sea-slugs which ensures that narratives of White 'discovery' are not disrupted.

Counter-narratives

Pre-White history is also omitted altogether in *A Down Under Story* (1976). However, unlike previous texts in this section, claims of White 'discovery' and possession are also omitted, while discourses of anti-racism highlight Aboriginal possession. For example, the text begins with Cook's landing being opposed by Aborigines (see Figure Twenty-Four, page 154), framing British colonisation as an invasion.

The second edition of *SOSE 3* (2000) also omits pre-colonial history, an anomalous feature in a text from this era (discussed in a previous section, see pages 88-89). However, White 'discovery' is also omitted; the narrative opens with British colonisation. Moreover, post-colonial Aborigines are not treated with the disregard typical of texts in this section. For example, frontier violence and Aboriginal resistance are discussed. In contrast to *A Down Under Story* however, discourses of anti-racism which contest White possession are absent. Given the absence of discourses of anti-racism, the omission of 'discovery' tropes can be interpreted as bolstering White possession by avoiding intimations of invasion.

Tokenistic recognition

Three texts in my sample – one each from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s – fleetingly recognise Aborigines as First Peoples but immediately revert to the standard story of White history. This perfunctory acknowledgement is too minimal to unsettle claims of White possession. Indeed, the construction of White possession as unproblematic in the texts in this section demonstrates the tokenistic nature of their recognition of Aborigines as First Peoples. The cursory nature of the recognition of non-Whites as the first discoverers, migrants, settlers or visitors to Australia in these texts suggests that rather than aiming to elevate the status or achievement of non-Whites these concessions are included in the interest of historical accuracy. A final text, published in the 2000s, also has minimal coverage of pre-colonial Aboriginal life. However, this text, which also omits White ‘discovery’ and contests *terra nullius*, incorporates counter-narratives to the other texts in this section.

1950s

Out of the Mist, Book Two (1956, 14) concludes its chapter on the White ‘discovery’ of Australia with an acknowledgement that Aborigines ‘peopled’ Australia centuries before ‘our race’:

But it was not really the white man who first settled in this southern land. For many years it had been peopled by a dark-skinned race with lank hair and generally flattish noses. They had migrated from the mainland of Asia very many centuries before the coming of our race ...

Having already unproblematically constructed the continent as a White possession (*Book Two* 1956, 11), this belated allusion to Aborigines as migrants who ‘peopled’ the land is unlikely to unsettle this construction. Indeed, by distinguishing between ‘our race’ and ‘them’, this extract reinscribes rather than unsettles White possession. In this context, the word ‘peopled’ intimates presence without any connotations of proprietorship. A discourse of anthropology in which physical markers are used to racialise and objectify Aboriginality also deflects any suggestion of prior claims to ownership. This dehumanised description echoes Murdoch’s reference to ‘dark-skinned wandering tribes who hurled boomerangs and ate snakes’ (see page 169).

1960s

The first unit in *Social Studies for Secondary Schools Book Two* is titled ‘Discovering Australia’. As with the examples discussed in the previous section, this unit refers

exclusively to White discovery and settlement. As the following extracts show, this exclusive focus is understood without being made explicit:

... a number of famous voyages ... brought closer the day when Australia would be discovered. *SSSS, Book Two 1963, 10*

Australia is the most distant continent from Europe and, except for Antarctica, was the last continent explored and colonised. *SSSS, Book Two 1963, 67*

After claiming New Zealand for Britain, Cook spent six months exploring and charting its coasts. Then, in 1770, he sailed westward and discovered the east coast of Australia. *SSSS, Book Two 1963, 16*

The first two extracts are discourses of White solipsism which would be more accurate with the addition of the words 'by Whites' at the end of each sentence. The fact that 'by Whites' is understood without needing to be explicitly stated evidences the normativity of the White perspective. Although the continent was 'already peopled' when 'the first white men visited', this is not acknowledged until later in the text (*Book Two 1963, 52*). In contrast to the White colonisation and development of the continent, Aborigines merely 'people' the land. As explained above, the use of the term 'peopled' minimises any implication of ownership. In contrast to White 'voyages of discovery', intimations of achievement, discovery and rights to possession are absent from the brief narrative of Aboriginal migration.

This text demonstrates the lebensraumesque idea that expansion is necessary to meet White needs, evidencing White solipsism/disregard:

This [colonisation] not only led to the spread of European influence and culture but the colonies also provided many new foods and raw materials which added to the standard of living of European people by enabling them to satisfy a greater number and variety of wants. *SSSS, Book Two 1963, 208*

1970s

In contrast to other texts discussed so far, *Australia's Two Centuries* begins by problematising the standard story of White possession:

Imagine that an Australian Aborigine stepped off a jet airliner in London. These were his words: 'In the name of the Aboriginal people, I discover and take possession of this country'.

He would be trying to show that Aborigines could claim England just as easily as Captain Cook claimed Australia for England nearly two hundred years ago. After all, Australia was there and had been discovered by thousands of Aborigines before the arrival of Cook.

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 1

This extract positions Aborigines as the discoverers of Australia. Nevertheless, the text quickly reverts to the standard story of White discovery as shown by the map in Figure Two (see page 56), which appears on page three of the text. Similarly, the following extract demonstrates a perfunctory admission of non-European knowledge immediately followed by refocusing on Europeans:

The Aborigines knew about Australia. But the continent was unknown to most Europeans before the seventeenth century.

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 2

Arguably, the intent of this extract is to qualify the unknown status of Australia in the interests of accuracy, rather than an attempt to recognise Aborigines knowledge. Intimations of Aboriginal sovereignty are also absent.

Counter-narratives

Humanities 3, the most recent first edition in my sample, also covers pre-White history in a tokenistic manner, reducing this topic to one double page on 'Land, law and the dreaming'. In contrast to the other texts in this section however, the concept of White 'discovery' is also omitted, intimating a refusal to endorse White exceptionalism. Moreover, Aboriginal place names are used (see page 160), thereby refuting *terra nullius*. Nevertheless, discourses of anti-racism are absent: White 'discovery' is omitted but not contested. This approach appears to be an attempt to minimise intimations of invasion or other controversies. For example, credit for discovery is absent rather than accorded to Aborigines or Asians. The debate surrounding the origins of 'Australia's indigenous people' is mentioned but not elaborated, with Aborigines framed uncontroversially as Australia's 'first human inhabitants' (2007, 4). Sea voyages by the Macassans, Chinese, Portuguese and Dampier prior to British colonisation are constituted as 'visits' (2007, 6). Similarly, a potentially controversial critique of White possession is curtailed by the mild nature of the presented critique and the inclusion of a justificatory argument to counteract

the critique. White possession is critiqued by observing that it was made '[w]ithout any agreement with the indigenous inhabitants' (2007, 7). This critique is offset by positioning Cook as the sole party responsible for the claim of possession. A discourse of historical discontinuity also locates Cook's claim in the past. Both of these strategies ensure that current White possession is undisturbed. White possession is also justified based on the contemporary understanding of *terra nullius*: that in the absence of farming or 'fix'd habitations' the land was not 'occupied' (2007, 7). Although some consequences of *terra nullius* – denying rights to treaties or claims of ownership – are noted, they are not elaborated, nor are other consequences such as death and dispossession discussed.

Aboriginal history siloed

Chronologically, the next pattern in the treatment of pre-white Australia is the inclusion of an initial, anthropological-style chapter on Aboriginal life prior to White colonisation. This is the most common pattern in my sample, with eight texts adopting this approach. Initial pre-colonisation chapters are an improvement on histories which either ignore pre-colonial Aboriginal history or recognise it fleetingly. Nevertheless, their inclusion remains tokenistic to the extent that they do not unsettle the subsequent story of White 'discovery', 'exploration' and development to which the texts revert. For example, Aboriginal migration is covered in all texts in this section, yet, with the exception of texts from the 2000s, Whites are credited with 'discovery' millennia later. As in the preceding section, I illustrate tokenism by unproblematic claims of White possession subsequent to apparent recognition of Aborigines as First Peoples. Except for sporadic references to interactions with White 'explorers', Aborigines remain siloed from the remaining 'non-Aboriginal' topics in the texts in this section. Acknowledging Aborigines in specific sections of the text while replicating the traditional centring of elite, White males and reproducing the standard historical narrative of White development in the remainder of the text normalises the segregation of Aborigines from mainstream Australian life. While these chapters position Aborigines as First Peoples, siloing Aborigines within the text ensures White possession remains unsettled. Discourses of anthropology also relegate Aborigines to a past era, thereby positioning the 'noble savage' image of Aboriginality as authentic while leaving contemporary Aboriginality anomalous. Many of the texts in this section mirror tokenistic texts in their use of discourses of historical accuracy in their narratives of White history. Two texts published in the 2000s, which include a siloed chapter on Aborigines, mount counter-narratives, excluding White 'discovery' and 'exploration' and critiquing White possession.

1960s

Following a pseudo-anthropological discussion of Aborigines in the first chapter of *Colony to Nation*, the second chapter begins with the concession of an 'ordered world' prior to European 'discovery':

For thousands of years the Australian aborigines roamed their island continent, secure in their ordered world in to which no stranger ever came.

Colony to Nation 1960, 12

After this throwaway line however, the narrative centres White 'discovery' with Aborigines mentioned just four times in the remainder of the chapter. Cook's week in the territory of the Eora, now known as Botany Bay, for example is recounted without any reference to Aborigines as is his four month journey northward along the east coast of mainland Australia. The Dutch are framed as dominating 'the first great phase of Australian discovery' (1960, 14), ignoring Aboriginal and Asian discovery. Aboriginal sovereignty is also ignored by constructing White possession as unproblematic:

Landing on Possession Island (as we call it) he gave to this new and extensive territory the name New South Wales, and formally annexed it in the name of King George III.

Colony to Nation 1960, 20

1970s

Australia's Frontiers also adopts the discursive ploy of tokenistic texts whereby after a brief nod to Aboriginal occupation in the interests of accuracy, the narrative refocuses on the European experience:

Although it is now accepted that the Aborigines lived in Australia thousands of years ago, this country was the last inhabited continent to be discovered by Europeans.

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 4

As in *A Map History* (see page 172), the European discovery of Australia is framed as a result of the self-evident capitalistic imperative:

After A.D. 1400, knowledge of the world quickly increased due to the desire of European countries to break the monopoly that Venice and Genoa held over the prosperous Eastern trade. Spain and Portugal in particular were most envious of

the wealth of these two cities and it was their desire to expand that was eventually to lead to the discovery of Australia. *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 4

The subsequent unit, 'The First Australians', is noteworthy for its inclusive title which accords Aborigines a unique status in the Australian polity. Moreover, much of the disparaging misinformation in previous texts is omitted or corrected. Rather than depictions of savagery generated by discourses of deficiency as in previous texts, discourses of anthropology frame pre-invasion Aboriginal life as complex, ordered and harmonious:

With its close relationship to the land, its deep religious sense and its rigid adherence to tribal law and custom, Aboriginal culture was extremely complex, but it resulted in an ordered and generally harmonious society that existed until the coming of the white man destroyed a way of life that had existed for over 35 000 years – possibly for 100 000 years or more. *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 7

Including this unit on 'First Australians' refutes previous texts' positioning of Australian history as beginning with the arrival of Europeans, demonstrating an initial step towards a more inclusive approach. Nevertheless, the tokenistic nature of this inclusivity is apparent in the question which immediately follows the extract above: 'Who were the first people to discover and map Australia?' (1979, 8).

Although this question appears on the next page as part of a new unit on European exploration, its juxtaposition immediately following the apparent recognition of the Aboriginal occupation of Australia is striking, demonstrating limits to inclusivity and suggesting that the fundamental paradigm through which history is viewed is unaltered. For example, British claims of possession are untroubled: 'Having originally annexed ... one-third of Australia, in 1825 the British Government pushed the boundary further west ... (1979, 17). Apparent contradictions wherein respectful representations are followed by a failure to recognise shared humanity are explained by Marcus (1999, 10) who argues that Aborigines' 'existence as a living people with rights and demands' is erased by linking Aborigines inexorably with the land. Applying this reasoning to the extract above suggests that framing Aboriginal culture as having a 'close relationship with the land' minimises Aboriginal humanity so that tokenistic treatment is not surprising.

The Land They Found also begins with an anthropological-style chapter on Aborigines prior to European 'discovery'. Siloing is evident by the mentioning of Aborigines only 12 times in the remaining 23 chapters. The first chapter frames Aborigines as

‘arriv[ing] in Australia about 30 000 BC’ (1979, 1). The next chapter outlines trading relationships in south-east Asia prior to Dutch intervention, including a section on Macassan fishermen. The various groups mentioned (Hindus and Buddhists, Chinese, Arabs, Portuguese and Macassans) are framed as either possibly or definitely ‘visiting’ Australia. In spite of these concessions, White ‘discovery’ and possession are unsettled; the Dutch are portrayed as ‘discovering’ Australia (1979, 15), while Cook’s claim of possession is positioned as unremarkable (1979, 30-1).

1980s

Their Ghosts May be Heard has an initial chapter on ‘Aborigines alone’ followed, later in the text, by a chapter on Aboriginal-White relations. ‘Aborigines alone’ reproduces the discourses of anthropology of similar chapters in previous texts. This chapter is noteworthy, however, for clearly positioning Aborigines as the founders and owners of Australia and British colonisation as invasion. After citing a Northern Territory schoolboy, the introduction to the chapter states:

His people were the real founders of Australia because they came to this land thousands of years before white people discovered it ... Aborigines have been here for at least 40 000 years. When white people came to Australia, they invaded a land that already belonged to the Aborigines.

Their Ghosts May be Heard 1984, 16

While crediting Aborigines as the founders of Australia, Whites are, somewhat incongruently, accorded the status of discoverers. Nevertheless, the next chapter, ‘Sailing to a distant land’, evidences a slight lessening in tokenism. Rather than the chapter title referring exclusively to White voyages, readers are reminded that ‘the first sea voyages to Australia were made by the ancestors of today’s Aborigines’ (1984, 35). White exceptionalism is also qualified by listing various non-White sailors who are presumed to have undertaken journeys to Australia prior to European ones – Indian, Chinese, Arabian, Malaysian and Pacific Islander. The Aboriginal discovery of the continent is again emphasised under the heading ‘Who discovered Australia?’:

The Aboriginal people discovered Australia over 40 000 years ago. Because Australia was settled by people from Europe in 1788, another question is important too: *Who were the first Europeans to discover Australia?*

Their Ghosts May be Heard 1984, 37 emphasis in original

As in the texts above however, this extract suggests that the inclusion of references to Aborigines in this chapter may be driven more by concerns about accuracy than recognising Aboriginal achievement. Overall, this text restricts Aboriginal perspectives to 'Aboriginal' chapters. For example, Cook's claim of possession on behalf of the British is not critiqued (1984, 48).

1990s

The rhetorical ploy of recognition followed by immediate retraction is also evident in *Voices from the Past*:

The idea that Europeans 'discovered' Australia has only recently been challenged. We now understand that Aborigines came to this country at least 40 000 years ago. However, modern Australia is a mainly European country situated in the Asia-Pacific region. *Voices from the Past* 1994, 19

Again, accuracy seems paramount in this extract which explicitly constructs Australia as a White nation immediately after a putative acknowledgment of prior Aboriginal occupation. Later in the text, Cook's instructions to 'take possession' of the county are noted. These orders specified that possession was to be taken 'with the consent of the Natives' (1994, 31). Nevertheless, there is no critique of Cook's failure to even attempt to comply with this order, normalising disregard. Instead, an excerpt from Cook's diary observes him taking 'possession of the whole eastern coast by the name of New South Wales' (1994, 33).

The first chapter in *SOSE 3*, 'Aborigines and Europeans' encompasses stories of both Aboriginal 'migration' and White 'discovery' of the continent. These topics are covered sequentially so that the chapter is more segregated than the title suggests. Although Aboriginal migration is not accorded the status of discovery, Aborigines are framed as 'Australia's earliest settlers and explorers' (1998, 6). Later in the chapter however, Cook's claim of possession is uncritically reproduced (1998, 27), demonstrating apparent obliviousness to the previous status accorded to Aborigines as 'Australia's earliest settlers'.

Counter-narratives

In contrast to earlier texts, *SOSE Alive History 2* frames the origins of Aborigines as 'strongly debated' (2005, 4), with some theories contesting assumptions of migration. The idea of Aboriginal discovery, which is incongruous within this framework, is

omitted. Nevertheless, Aborigines are framed as ‘the first landowners’ (2005, 4). The suggestion that differences between Aboriginal and British land use practices invalidated Aboriginal possession is refuted (2005, 4). The question of land ownership is discussed dispassionately, with both the eighteenth-century European understanding of *terra nullius* and the High Court’s 1992 Mabo decision, in which *terra nullius* was overturned, presented (2005, 7). Whites are discussed in the second chapter where they are framed as ‘Finding the Great South Land’ rather than discovering it. However, Cook’s claim of possession is not critiqued. *Humanities Alive 3*’s coverage of this topic is almost identical.

The final unit in *SOSE Alive History 2* outlines Indigenous history from 1770 to the present day. This unit states that Australian authorities have only recently begun ‘to acknowledge that the land claimed in 1770 was not *terra nullius*’ (2005, 188). Positioning this statement at the end of the text is unlikely to unsettle the implicit and explicit constructions of White possession throughout the rest of the text. Moreover, while this unit acknowledges injustice, progress is emphasised. In this context, the reference to *terra nullius* functions to emphasise improvement rather than unsettle White possession. Coverage of contemporary Aboriginality is expanded to four units in *Humanities Alive 4*. Nevertheless, the celebratory focus remains, so that the fleeting refutation of *terra nullius* (2007, 116) again fails to unsettle White possession.

Summary

The various approaches to pre-White history are summarised in Table Eight. Overall, there is a temporal pattern to the coverage of pre-White history in the texts in my sample. The third column shows texts that omit pre-White history altogether, framing history explicitly or implicitly as White. With the exception of a second edition of *SOSE 3* (not shown in Table Eight which only includes first editions; see pages 89-90), no text published after the 1970s adopts this strategy. The next strategy – tokenistic recognition immediately contradicted by disregard – is used sporadically over the period of my research sample. The final two strategies show a clear temporal pattern, increasing in prevalence in more recent texts. Siloing – the technique of discussing pre-White history relatively extensively while nevertheless failing to disrupt the standard celebratory story of White history – predominates from the 1970s onwards. The last column lists texts which contain counter-narratives to celebratory White histories. With the exception of *A Down Under Story*, only texts published in the 2000s adopt this strategy.

Table 8: Pre-White history in textbooks covering pre-20th century history

Decade	Title	Pre-White history absent	Tokenistic recognition	Siloed	Counter-narratives
1950s	A Junior History	•			
	Out of the Mist		•		
1960s	Colony to Nation			•	
	Social Studies for Sec Schools		•		
	A Map History	•			
	Landmarks	•			
1970s	A Down Under Story	•			•
	Australia's Two Centuries		•		
	Australia's Frontiers			•	
	The Land They Found			•	
1980s	Their Ghosts May Be Heard			•	
1990s	Voices from the Past			•	
	SOSE 3			•	
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2			•	Arrive
	Humanities Alive 3			•	Arrive
	Humanities 3		•		Arrive

The earlier texts in my sample deploy discourses of White possession bolstered by discourses of White exceptionalism and solipsism to construct Australian history as synonymous with White history. White possession is affirmed by contrast with discourses of anthropology, non-White deficiency and disregard, all of which function to objectify and dehumanise Aborigines. In addition, discourses of White possession are protected from critique by discourses of historical discontinuity. While discourses of historical accuracy have the potential to disturb White possession their temporary status augmented by immediate contradiction ensures White possession remains intact. These discourses are summarised in Chart Seven.

Unlike narratives of frontier violence in the previous chapter, where recent texts are differentiated from earlier ones by the adoption of discourses of anti-racism, these discourses are minimal in narratives of White 'discovery' and possession. Instead, as in the example of conflict between Aborigines and White 'explorers', texts from the 2000s avoid contention by omitting White 'discovery' altogether, framing the British as 'arriving' and Aborigines non-controversially as Australia's first inhabitants. While claims of White possession are included in these texts, they are minimal. Moreover, some texts briefly critique these claims.

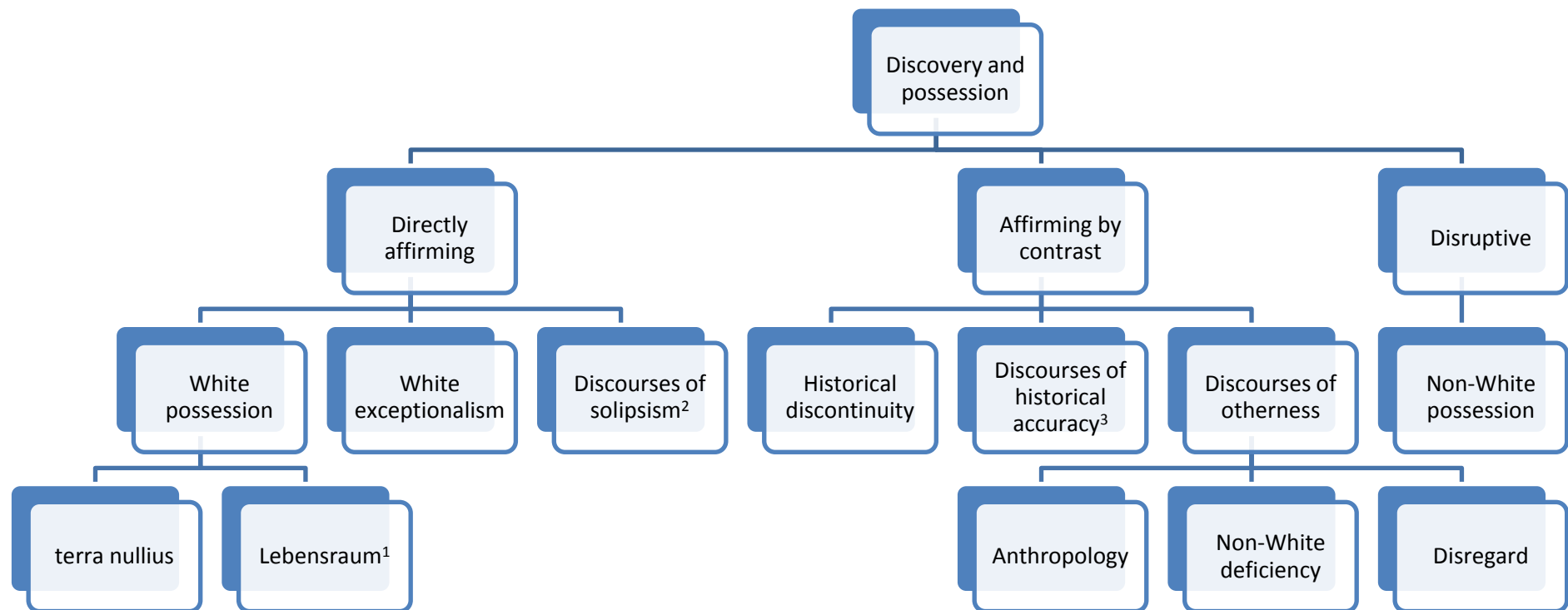


Chart 7: Discourses of discovery and possession in textbooks covering pre-20th century history

1. Lebensraum: justifications of White possession on the basis of White need while simultaneously ignoring non-Whites needs
2. Discourses of solipsism: phrases in which the word 'White' is absent but understood, such as using the term people when referring only to White people
3. Discourses of historical accuracy: tokenistic recognition of non-White perspectives in the interests of accuracy without amending contradictory discourses

‘Exploring’ the interior

This topic, which covers White ‘exploration’ of the inland following colonisation, is omitted from four of the texts in my sample that cover pre-Federation history: *A Down Under Story*; *SOSE Alive History 2*; *Humanities Alive 3* and *Humanities 3*. These are the same texts that omit the story of White ‘discovery’ (see under ‘counter-narratives’ in Table Eight, page 184). Suggested reasons for omitting the topic of ‘exploration’ are discussed in the previous chapter (see page 138).

‘Exploring’ newly ‘discovered’ land is an essential element in practical assertions of ownership by ‘supplanting societies’ (Day 2005, 51). Supplanting societies construct ‘exploration’ as a response to the self-evident desire to augment (White) knowledge of the land, or in lebensraumesque terms as a precursor to essential territorial expansion, rather than as an incursion onto Aboriginal land. Within this context, ‘explorers’ are constructed as exceptional individuals intrepidly serving the greater (White) good, while land is positioned as *terra nullius* and available for White possession, disavowing Aboriginal ownership. Renaming ‘newly explored’ areas also negates Aboriginal ownership. Indeed, because the idea of Aboriginal occupants of ‘unknown’ areas is oxymoronic, the people themselves are, by-and-large, erased. This erasure obscures the dependence of White ‘explorers’ on Aborigines to guide, negotiate safe passage, interpret and locate food and water sources (Langton 2008a; Reynolds 2000). Where Aboriginal labour is admitted, it tends to be implied rather than openly acknowledged, or positioned as secondary to White initiative by subjecting the contributors to the White gaze. The White gaze implicitly elevates whiteness and prioritises White perspectives while objectifying non-Whites. For example, Aborigines are variously described as cunning, faithful, brave or treacherous (Langton 2008a, xxiv) according to how the situation is interpreted by Whites. These evaluative terms are not applied to Whites.

Aborigines deemed to have exceeded their expectations regarding service to Whites are bestowed with a White name, mimicking the renaming of geographical features by Whites. This recognition stands in contrast to the usual differentiation, whereby Whites are routinely named, thereby being constituted as individuals, while Aborigines are either absent or positioned as undifferentiated members of a racialised group. Naming functions to exempt ‘good’ Aborigines from the category of Aborigine so that generic Aboriginality continues to be framed pejoratively. For example, *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* (1963, 29) states that the ‘experiences of

Eyre and Kennedy tended to give aborigines a bad name, despite the loyalty of Wylie and Jacky Jacky’.

White exceptionalism

In the following section I examine narratives of Eyre’s journey to present-day Albany, demonstrating textbooks’ White gaze, the privileging of White lives and the crucial role of ignorance to constructions of White exceptionalism:

He [Eyre] sent all his party back to Adelaide except one white man, Baxter, and three natives. Eyre had decided to push his way through to King George’s Sound, 850 miles across a barren, waterless country. He knew that what he undertook to do was full of peril, and was unwilling to risk the life of any other white man.

A Junior History 1950, 90

One night, as he was rounding up the straying horses, Eyre was startled by a gunshot. Alarmed, he hastened back to the camp to find Baxter dying. He had been shot by two of the natives, who had then run off with most of the water and food ... With one faithful black Eyre struggled on for another month, living on dried horseflesh ... both he and Wylie, the black boy, “would gladly have laid down and slept forever”.

A Junior History 1950, 91

These extracts evidence the preferential treatment extended to Whites and ‘good’ Aborigines in comparison to the disregard afforded to Aborigines in general. In the first extract, Eyre and Baxter are named but not the ‘three Aborigines’. Blatant privileging of White lives is also evident in the report of Eyre being ‘unwilling to risk the life of any other white man’. That Eyre should think along these lines is presented as unremarkable. Indeed, the absence of any explanation indicates the uncontroversial nature of this sentiment. In the second extract, Eyre is positioned as heroic by emphasising the struggle he endured. Wylie is recognised with a (White) name and appraised as ‘faithful’ via a discourse of paternalism. This extract also demonstrates contradictory representations of Aboriginality within White discourses; Aborigines are simultaneously framed as domesticated servants as well as an ‘irreconcilable, barbaric enemy’ (Cowlshaw 1999, 53).

Although Eyre’s decision not to risk any further White lives is absent from narrations of this story in other texts in my sample, White exceptionalism is still evident. *Out of the Mist (Book Two* 1956, 40) mentions Eyre’s ‘terrible journey’ briefly but omits any reference to Aboriginal input, as does *Voices from the Past* (1994, 104).

The remaining four texts in my sample that cover the story reproduce versions similar to the second extract from *A Junior History* above. All refer to Eyre, Baxter and 'three a/Aborigines' (*Colony to Nation* 1960, 115; *SSSS, Book Two* 1963, 29; *A Map History* 1963, 22; *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 32). Wylie is not named in *Australia's Frontiers*, but is paternalistically labelled a 'faithful native' in *Colony to Nation* (1960, 115-16), a 'faithful aborigine' in *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* (1963, 29) and the 'remaining native' in *A Map History* (1963, 22).

By-and-large, narratives of Eyre's journey are included in celebratory histories as an example of White exceptionalism, but omitted in later histories when 'exploration' is framed in terms of founding colonies, solving 'puzzles', or 'opening up' land, none of which apply to Eyre's 'exploration'. Consequently, its inclusion declines over the time period of my sample: it is included in both my texts from the 1950s, all but one from the 1960s, only one from the 1970s and, with the exception of *Voices from the Past*, none after the 1970s. *Landmarks* (1969), *Australia's Two Centuries* (1977) and *The Land They Found* (1979) all narrate the history of 'exploration' as the initial step in the founding of particular colonies. In these texts, Eyre's journey is deemed irrelevant to the founding story of Western Australia. As well as being omitted from the founding story of Western Australia in *Their Ghosts May be Heard*, Eyre's journey is also irrelevant to this text's section on 'exploration' which focuses on the 'puzzles' (to Whites) of the inland rivers and the centre. Similarly, Eyre's journey is omitted from the founding story of Western Australia in *SOSE 3*, the final text in my sample that includes 'exploration' as a topic. It is also omitted from a section of this text which frames 'exploration' as 'opening up the land', which Eyre's journey failed to do.

Textbook constructions of Eyre demonstrate the distortion necessary to position Whites as exceptional. In these brief narratives, only information which positions Eyre favourably is included, supporting Attwood's (1996, 101) contention that histories are constructed through assembling certain events and protagonists into a coherent narrative while omitting other events and actors. The absence of any explanation for the inclusion of Aborigines in the 'exploring' party evidences the taken-for-granted nature of this inclusion. However, this inclusion is not explicitly acknowledged as crucial. Similarly, there is no attempt to examine the power relations whereby Aborigines joined Eyre's party or to understand the reasons two Aborigines refused to remain with Eyre. Instead, in the latter case, desertion is attributed to savagery. Yet, Eyre himself provides some of this information in his autobiography which is presumably the source for the conventional narrative

(Reynolds 2000, 161-2 and henceforth). Eyre records that in 1837 he found 'two little black boys' about eight years old called Cootachah and Joshuing who had been left on the banks of the Goulburn by another expedition. (This could more accurately be termed abandonment.) Eyre 'attached them' to his party, but the methods whereby he secured this attachment are omitted. Cootachah and Joshuing accompanied Eyre on his next journey from New South Wales to South Australia. This journey traversed the boys' country, wherein they met the boys' kin. Eyre noted that the boys' parents were 'greatly delighted' to see the children again, the father of one 'especially showed a great deal of feeling and tenderness'. Apparently lacking the same feeling and tenderness, Eyre was determined to keep 'his boys', and, according to Eyre, the parents acquiesced. Three weeks later Joshuing deserted with four other members of the party, but Eyre 'got another native boy' called Neramberein on his next expedition to South Australia. Again, how Eyre 'got' this boy is not elaborated. Three years later Cootachah and Neramberein shot Baxter and escaped rather than follow Eyre across the Nullabor.

Even based on Eyre's arguably favourable self-report, this background information positions Eyre more ambiguously and Cootachah and Neramberein more favourably than the standard historical narrative. While this brief extract fails to provide conclusive evidence of Cootachah and Neramberein's motives, it positions them as young boys who may have been involuntary members of Eyre's party, and attributes them with agency. In particular, this extract disrupts the conventional disregard and dehumanisation of Aborigines by personalising Cootachah and positioning him within a social context. Rather than simply an object in the service of Whites, Cootachah is framed as a loved family member. This construction disrupts White solipsism whereby Aborigines are 'discursively placed in the civil, moral realm of whites, but as wilfully ignoring its rules' (Cowlshaw 1999, 95). Whereas solipsism is reinforced by an absence of information on the other, it is disrupted by information in which the other is contextualised and thereby humanised.

'Opening up' the land

Discussions of 'exploration' are generally accompanied by observations that fertile land was 'discovered' or 'opened up' and available for White occupation, as illustrated in the following extract:

Allan Cunningham led them [squatters] north to the Darling Downs ... Hume and Hovell led them south to the Murray, and on to the Port Phillip District.

Sturt led them to the Darling River. Major Mitchell led them to the fertile Western District. And so it went. *The Land They Found* 1979, 112

The euphemism 'opening up' the land is predicated on the logic of *terra nullius*. The land is constructed as empty and available for White possession, thereby erasing Aborigines (Cowlshaw 1999, 53). Through this erasure, Aborigines are not even 'accorded the status of the dispossessed' (Attwood 102, 1996). The colonial myth that Aborigines did not farm the land rendered the resultant 'excellent farming country' as unrelated to Aboriginal land management practices (Gammage 2011; Pascoe 2014). Narratives which frame White expansion as necessary to meet White needs while disregarding the myriad problems of dispossession for Aborigines evidence lebensraum. Apart from occasional skirmishes between specific Aborigines and White 'explorers' (Broome 1996, 56), there is no discussion of the impact of 'opening up' Australia on Aborigines or of the brutal methods used to assert White possession. This omission functions to normalise disregard for Aborigines, while framing White possession as unequivocally beneficial. Although many texts link frontier violence with dispossession, this information tends to be siloed in 'Aboriginal' chapters which enables the celebratory story of White 'exploration' and expansion to be undisturbed. Other texts – the same ones that omit White 'discovery' and 'exploration' – jettison the trope of 'opening up' the land. The incorporation of counter-narratives in these texts, however, is minimal. For example, none adopt Green's (2004) approach in *SOSE Alive Topic Book 'Indigenous Peoples of Western Australia'* in which he frames 'exploration' as 'losing the land'.

Positioning land as 'locked up' by the squatters is another potential counter-narrative to the trope of 'opening up' the land. While this narrative is evident in some texts in my sample however, it is absent from those texts which omit the trope of 'opening up' the land. Moreover, the land is framed as 'locked up' in the context of access by landless Whites rather than Aborigines. As such, White possession is reinscribed rather than disturbed. Arguably, the exclusion of the trope of 'opening up' the land from more recent texts evidences a lessening in White solipsism over the time frame of my sample. The treatment of squatting is less straight forward. Texts from the 1950s and early 1960s have an uncritical approach, positioning squatters as pioneers who 'opened up' the land and improved the prosperity of the colonies. This portrayal is complicated from the late 1960s however, through the inclusion of information on the Selection Acts and the 'fair and foul' means squatters used to retain control of land. Finally, in the most recent texts, squatting has reduced

coverage with little or no information presented. Where the topic is included these texts emphasise the 'hard life' of squatters while omitting the corrupt practices squatters deployed to retain land. Only two texts note the impact of squatting on Aborigines. In the following sections, I demonstrate the deployment of the various tropes of 'opening up' the land in the texts in my sample, including lebensraum and counter-narratives. I then examine representations of squatting.

The following extracts demonstrate the celebratory narrative of 'opening up' fertile land for White expansion:

The passage over the Blue Mountains, the discoveries of Oxley, Hume and Hovell, Cunningham, Sturt and Mitchell were closely connected with the sheep industry, for they opened up the finest sheep runs in the world.

A Junior History 1950, 56

The crossing of the Blue Mountains led not only to the plains, but also to the western slopes of the range, both being splendid pastoral country. The opening-up of the land paved the way for our great pastoral industry, which is now our most important industry.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 22

The expedition had ... uncovered the land Mitchell called 'Australia Felix' ... rich in natural resources ... lying 'ready for the plough ... as if specially prepared by the Creator for the industrious hands of Englishmen'.

Colony to Nation 1960, 70

He [Oxley] had opened up millions of acres of fertile land ...

SSSS, Book Two 1963, 23

They [Hume and Hovell] passed through excellent grazing country on their way [towards Bass Strait].

A Map History 1963, 15

The opening up of new lands between about 1820 and 1840 was the most important event that occurred at this time in Australia's history.

Landmarks 1969, 43

When the white man came to Australia, he found an open country, with huge unfenced areas suitable for grazing and farming. It was only natural that in time men would turn their eyes to this land and want to settle on it.

The Land They Found 1979, 110

The road ... was little more than a narrow, ragged track but it did allow a passage through the [Blue] mountains and opened up rich country on the other side into which the rapidly growing wool industry could expand.

SOSE 3 1998, 67

The above extracts, covering the period 1950 to 1998, position the land as available for White possession with Aborigines erased. Indeed, the trope 'opening up' the land reflects an exclusively White perspective which disregards the dispossession of Aborigines subsequent to 'exploration'. By framing the land as 'splendid pastoral country' or 'the finest sheep runs in the world', White expansion into these areas becomes a natural impulse. Through the prism of White solipsism/disregard, the creation of land seemingly 'ready for the plough', as cited in *Colony to Nation* above, is attributed to divine intervention rather than Aboriginal farming practices (Gammage 2011; Pascoe 2014).

Lebensraum

Some of the texts which position land as 'opened up' use lebensraum-style justifications for White expansion in which the White need for land is framed as indubitable and 'desperate' while the corresponding Aboriginal need for land is ignored. By omitting reference to Aboriginal land ownership and usage, the reality of Aboriginal dispossession is elided. The following extracts construct White expansion as a self-evident necessity:

The coastal settlement had reached the limit of its carrying capacity, a situation which was aggravated in times of drought.

Colony to Nation 1960, 58

[I]t became obvious that more grazing land would be needed. *Landmarks 1969, 42*

The crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813, inspired by the desperate need for fresh pastures during a drought, opened the way to the west. When Oxley and Evans in 1818 declared that 'exceedingly good country' lay beyond the mountains, explorers, adventurers and prospective settlers began to move into south-eastern Australia.

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 30

By 1827 ... [t]here was drought in the sheep lands and sheep were dying as their waterholes dried out. More good grazing land had to be found.

Their Ghosts May be Heard 1984, 125

The White need for land is positioned as incontrovertible, 'obvious' and 'desperate', thereby asserting the legitimacy of White expansion and silencing potential challenges to this view. These constructions preclude recognition of Aborigines' corresponding need for land. Readers of these texts are educated in this solipsism.

Counter-narratives

Anti-racist discourses dispute constructions of land as *terra nullius* and draw attention to the impact of White expansion on Aborigines. Only three texts in my sample discuss dispossession in the context of White expansion. The remaining texts which cover dispossession link it with frontier violence (see Chapter Five, page 157), thereby siloing this topic in 'Aboriginal' chapters so that White possession is not disturbed.

Following a lebensraumesque statement that '[s]heep need land' (1977, 34), *Australia's Two Centuries* links White expansion to conflict with Aborigines (1977, 36-7). Similarly, in *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 74) the 'hard life of a squatter' is outlined followed by a section linking White expansion with dispossession and violence:

The more that squatters and selectors moved inland, the more they displaced the Indigenous people. The Indigenous people did try to resist, sometimes stealing sheep or killing European settlers. However, these acts provoked further attacks and the cycle of violence continued. *SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 75

These minimal counter-narratives are unlikely to disrupt White possession. In contrast, *A Down Under Story* is wholly oppositional. Anti-racist discourses frame Aborigines as land owners, contesting the popular fiction of *terra nullius*. In this context, the English are constructed as invaders rather than settlers (see Figure Twenty-Four, page 154). These constructions centre Aboriginal perspectives.

Squatters

Representations of squatting vary from positioning squatters as 'opening up' to 'locking up' the land. Both these portrayals centre White access to land, representing either elite or poor White interests and erasing Aborigines. For example, Aborigines are absent from the list of inland residents in *Out of the Mist*:

In those days [circa 1840] the flocks and herds of some squatters wandered from pasture to pasture like the animals of a primitive tribe, and the only other

inhabitants of the great plains were farmers, shepherds, bullock-drivers and labourers.

Out of the Mist, Book Two 1956, 27

Earlier texts in my sample portray squatters as 'opening up' the land. For example, in a section lauding squatters, *Landmarks* (1969, 43) states that '[d]iscovering land is not the same as occupying that land'. From this perspective, squatters are seen as crucial to White territorial expansion and economic development. However, the sympathetic portrayal of squatters is complicated in texts from the late 1960s onwards that discuss the Selection Acts. While these texts continue to construct squatters sympathetically, they also stress links between squatters' holdings and the scarcity of land available for other Whites to farm, with the latter group's calls to 'unlock the land' emphasised. Itemising some of the 'fair and foul' means squatters used to retain control of land also tempers their flattering portrayals in earlier texts. The most recent texts in my sample minimise or omit discussion of squatters. This omission may reflect the absence of the trope of 'opening up' the land from these texts.

The earliest texts in my sample note that settling outside Governor Darling's Nineteen Counties was trespassing. Nevertheless, the need for expansion is framed in lebensraumesque terms as a self-evident economic imperative: 'economic pressure triumphed over political policy' (*Colony to Nation* 1960, 91). Within this context, squatters are framed as having little option but to ignore the Governor's regulations:

He [Governor Darling] would sell no land outside the Nineteen Counties, and said all who settled outside were trespassers and would be prosecuted. But it was absurd to think that this would prevent sheep farmers from occupying the good lands outside ... so they took their sheep across the Strait and braved the anger of the Government.

A Junior History 1950, 110

What the Home Government overlooked was that explorers were constantly discovering excellent grazing lands beyond the limits of the Counties, and such profits were to be made in the wool trade that nothing would prevent the flockmasters from occupying them. Darling's proclamations were ignored and, although the settlers who pushed out and took unauthorised occupation of the Crown Lands were outlaws and trespassers in the eyes of the law, it soon became clear that they could not be recalled ...

Colony to Nation 1960, 82

... *squatters* ... went out and took land to which they had no legal right. They spread over the western slopes of New South Wales and also opened up the Port Phillip District ...

SSSS, Book Two 1963, 59

Until 1836 settlement outside Governor Darling's 'Nineteen Counties' ... was illegal. More land was needed, however, for the growing flocks of the colony and, in 1836, squatters were licensed for £10 a year to use whatever land they liked outside the Counties.

A Map History 1963, 31

They [squatters] solved the problem by simply ignoring Darling's instructions and drove their flocks into the forbidden areas ... In 1836 Governor Bourke took the sensible step of allowing the squatters to occupy as many runs as they wanted for £10 per year.

Landmarks 1969, 44

The Government tried to check this rapid movement by limiting further settlement to the area on the map known as the Nineteen Counties. But the arrival of more people in the colony, the natural increase in flocks and the knowledge that there was land for the taking left no alternative but to make squatting legal.

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 36

In these extracts, restricting the expansion of the squatters is depicted as 'absurd' and unrealistic, thereby minimising suggestions of improper behaviour on the part of the squatters. Indeed, *A Junior History* frames squatters as 'brave' for flouting the Governor's regulations. In addition, potential criticism of squatters is minimised by emphasising the regulation of squatting. In light of the punitive nature of the British legal system at this time, such as punishment by transportation for petty theft, the leniency shown to the squatters is striking. Moreover, whereas Aboriginal dispossession was justified in part by the absence of British-style farming (*Voices from the Past* 1994, 136; *SOSE* 3 1998, 27; *SOSE Alive History* 2 2005, 7; *Humanities Alive* 3 2006, 4; *Humanities* 3 2007, 7), this same deficiency did not impede squatters' claims.

The transformation of squatting from a term of derision to one of respectability is explicitly discussed in some texts:

The term 'squatter' was originally used to describe men of poor quality who moved from place to place stealing sheep. From about 1830 onwards, however, the word squatter became less abusive and referred to a person who occupied land, without owning it, for the purpose of raising livestock, especially sheep.

Landmarks 1969, 44

In the early years of Australian settlement, a number of runaway convicts, emancipists and others 'squatted' illegally ... Needless to say, these early squatters were held in contempt by the authorities and by society at large. Soon, however, the term squatter gained a wider meaning. A number of hardworking and enterprising men, some of them ex-army and ex-naval officers, ex-officials, and 'gentlemen' immigrants, began moving out, away from the settled districts, and establishing properties on Crown land ... They were interested ... in making a quick profit.

The Land They Found 1979, 111-112

They got their name in the early years when they 'squatted' on land that they had no right to use. But as time passed and laws changed, many of the squatters became rich and respectable settlers. They controlled huge areas of land and they wanted to make sure that no one else got possession of it.

Their Ghosts May be Heard 1984, 137

The term 'squatter' has several meanings in Australian history. In the early 1800s it was an insulting term used ... to describe the people who occupied land without permission, and often stole animals from other farmers. By the 1830s the meaning had begun to change. Many pastoralists ... who settled beyond the Nineteen Counties ... were called squatters.

Voices from the Past 1994, 84

In addition to describing the transformation in the meaning of the term 'squatter', two of the extracts above attribute qualities to the original and/or latter object of the term. *Voices from the Past* links the original meaning of squatting with animal theft, while *The Land They Found* frames the squatting of poor Whites as illegal in contrast to its positioning of privileged squatters as 'hardworking and enterprising'. Missing from these descriptions is any class-based analysis of how the term signifies different meanings according to the class of the person illegally squatting as well as any suggestion that the actions of privileged squatters amounted to land theft.

The impact of squatting on Aborigines is also omitted, with Aborigines constructed as one of the problems faced by squatters (*Landmarks* 1969, 48; *Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 36; *The Land They Found* 1979, 119; *Their Ghosts May be Heard* 1984, 142, 151). As objects of the White gaze, Aborigines are not seen as sovereign peoples struggling to survive invasion of their land but as impediments to White settlers. For example, a list of threats to the success of squatters in *Landmarks* (1969, 48) includes 'constant debts, droughts, attacks by Aborigines and collapsing wool prices'. This is a discourse of reversal in which Aborigines, rather than Whites, are the intruders. The

tunnel vision of White solipsism enables the devastating effects of colonisation on Aborigines to be ignored.

In contrast, or in addition, to celebratory constructions of squatters, squatters are also framed as locking up the land, thereby disadvantaging other Whites. The impact of refusing Aborigines access to land is again ignored:

... by 1850 less than 1000 families had “locked” the best lands of the eastern colonies.
Landmarks 1969, 47

While settlers and farmers had to buy their land, many rich sheep owners squatted on Crown lands for next to nothing ... Small farmers and working people were worse off than ever.
A Down Under Story 1975, 7

The phrase ‘unlock the land’ is also present in *Australia’s Two Centuries* (1977, 82), *The Land They Found* (1979, 196), *Voices from the Past* (1994, 151) and *SOSE 3* (1998, 74-5). These texts frame squatters as powerful and self-interested and critique the means (such as dummyming and peacocking) by which the squatters retained land, as does *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1984, 209-210). Although *Australia’s Frontiers* frames the land as belonging to the squatters, it nevertheless emphasises the ‘fair and foul’ actions of the squatters:

After the gold rushes the squatters had to survive another challenge to their land. The Selection Acts were passed, putting the land up for sale to thousands of disillusioned gold miners. By ‘fair and foul’ means and considerable expense the squatters retained control over most of their land and the wool industry continued to prosper.
Australia’s Frontiers 1979, 36

The most recent texts in my sample avoid critiquing squatters by minimising or omitting this topic. *SOSE Alive History 2* focuses on the ‘hard life of a squatter’ (2005, 74) but also notes the link between squatting and Aboriginal dispossession (2005, 75). This topic is replicated word-for-word in *Humanities Alive 3* with the exception of omitting the impact of squatting on Aborigines. This omission suggests a deliberate attempt to avoid controversy, as does the complete absence of the topic in *Humanities 3*.

Summary

The deployment of various tropes of ‘opening up’ the land is shown in Table Nine. As shown in columns three and four, constructions of ‘opening up’ the land resulting in White access to fertile land predominate in my sample up to and including the 1990s. Many of these texts also use lebensraumesque justifications for White expansion (column five). The final column shows that, with the exception of *A Down Under Story*, the only texts in my sample which omit these tropes are those published in the 2000s.

Table 9: ‘Opening up’ the land in textbooks covering pre-20th century history

Decade	Title	Opening up	Fertile land	Lebensraum	Absent
1950s	A Junior History	•	•		
	Out of the Mist	•	•		
1960s	Colony to Nation		•	•	
	Social Studies for Sec Schools	•	•		
	A Map History	•	•	•	
	Landmarks	•		•	
1970s	A Down Under Story				•
	Australia’s Two Centuries	•		• sheep	
	Australia’s Frontiers	•	•	•	
	The Land They Found		•		
1980s	Their Ghosts May Be Heard			•	
1990s	Voices from the Past	•	•		
	SOSE 3	•	•		
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2				•
	Humanities Alive 3				•
	Humanities 3				•

As with narratives of ‘discovery’, discourses of White possession predominate in narratives of ‘exploration’. Discourses of White possession encompass tropes such as *terra nullius*, discourses of lebensraumesque White entitlement such as ‘opening up’ the land and ‘unlocking’ the land and discourses of reversal which position Aborigines as intruders. Discourses of White exceptionalism position White ‘explorers’ as exemplary, while discourses of non-White deficiency, disregard and paternalism marginalise Aborigines. These discourses, shown in Chart Eight, are reproduced throughout my sample with the exception of *A Down Under Story* and texts published in the current century. Whereas *A Down Under Story* incorporates discourses of anti-racism, these discourses are absent from texts published this century. Mirroring the treatment of narratives of ‘discovery’, these texts omit the topic of ‘exploration’ instead. Arguably, this decision reflects the inherently

problematic nature of lauding Whites for 'discovering' and 'exploring' occupied land (see page 138). On the other hand, it may also indicate an attempt to avoid intimations of invasion.

Conclusion

Changing representations of discovery and exploration over the period of my sample reflect shifts in the positioning of Aboriginal histories within narratives of Australian history. For the most part, Australian history is positioned as White history, with discourses of 'discovery' and 'exploration' constructing Whites as exceptional, while largely omitting or siloing Aboriginal (and other non-White) histories. White solipsism ensures that even when Aboriginal history is included, it is typically narrated from a White perspective. Consequently, the whiteness of the remainder of the text is not disrupted. With the exception of *A Down Under Story*, published in 1975, only textbooks from the most recent decade of my sample allow their representations of Aboriginal histories to (partially) influence their subsequent narrative. Rather than tokenistically acknowledging Aborigines as the first migrants, discoverers, explorers and/or settlers and subsequently reverting to the standard story of White 'discovery', 'exploration' and colonisation, in these texts White 'discovery' is demoted to finding or arriving, White 'exploration' omitted and *terra nullius* critiqued, albeit minimally.

The same texts that omit White 'discovery' and 'exploration' reject lebensraumesque discourses of White entitlement which position Whites as the only peoples dependent on access to land. This omission demonstrates a lessening in White solipsism. However, by failing to incorporate a counter-narrative to replace the omissions, neither White 'ontological expansiveness' (Sullivan 2006) or White possession are disrupted. Similarly, texts which critique squatting by centring the interests of poor Whites reinscribe rather than disrupt White possession. These constructions discursively erase Aborigines. Overall, the lessening in White solipsism evident in discourses of 'discovery' and 'exploration' is partial and limited to specific contexts. While the ignorance inherent to distorted representations of White exceptionalism is reduced, ignorance is nevertheless reproduced through the cultivation of disregard for non-Whites.

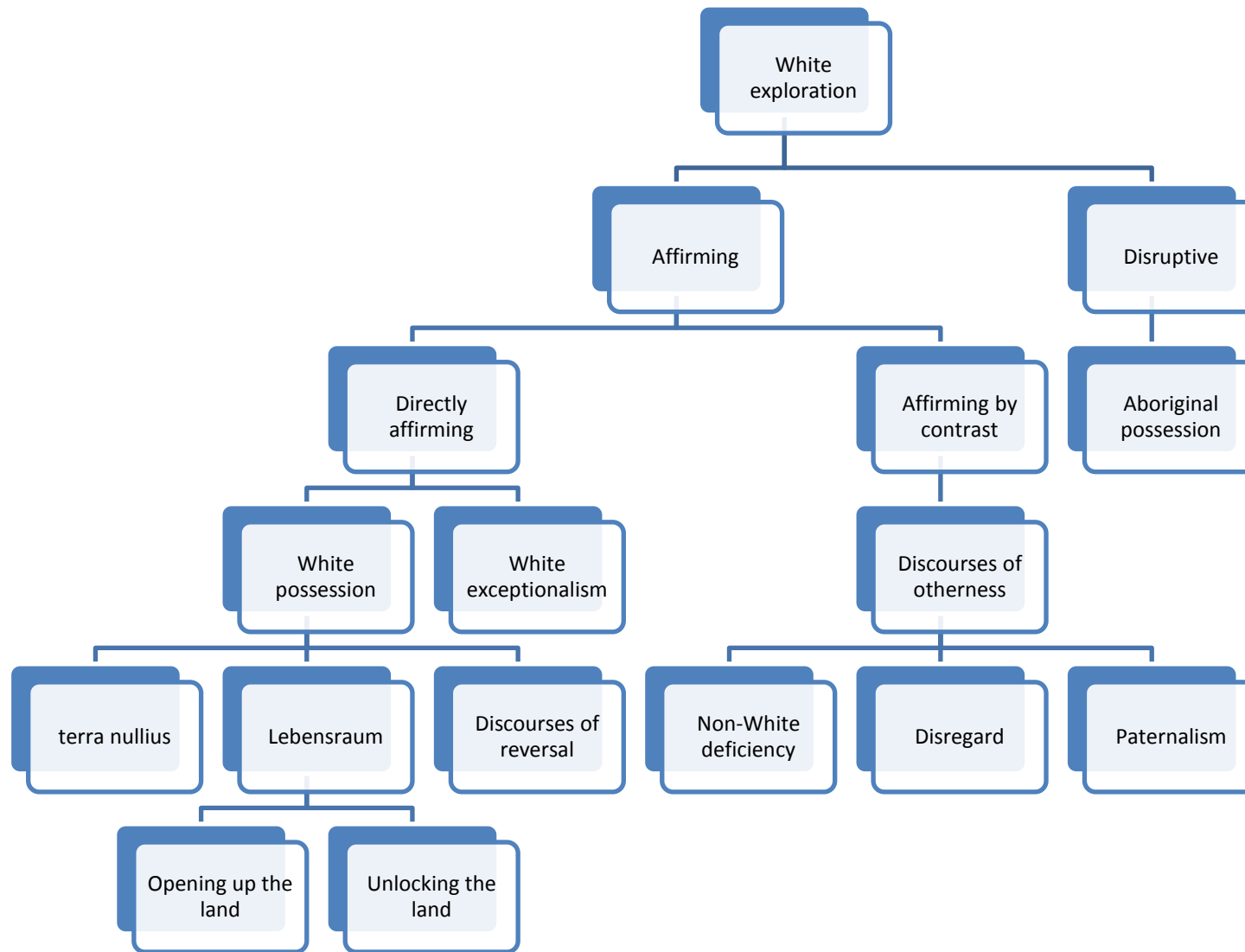


Chart 8: Discourses of White exploration in texts covering pre-20th century history

Chapter Seven: Narratives of Australianness

In this chapter I analyse constructions of Australianness in narratives of national identity and non-White immigration. Arguably, sketches of Australianness are present in all narratives of Australian history, at least implicitly. For example, by only covering the experiences of Whites, topics such as the gold rushes, the Selection Acts or the Great Depression implicitly exclude non-Whites from being positioned as Australian. However, analysis of these topics is unlikely to generate further insight into the rhetorical devices by which Australianness is explicitly fashioned. Consequently, I limit my analysis to conceptualisations of Australianness in sections on national identity and non-White immigration, where White Australianness is explicitly or implicitly constructed in opposition to non-Whites. These topics are presented in turn in this chapter, beginning with constructions of Australianness in the context of national identity.

National identity

National types as well as nationalism and nationhood are nineteenth-century constructs which reflect liberal, national and racial ideology (White 1981, 64-5). In Australia however, a sense of White national identity did not develop until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Race was central to burgeoning conceptions of Australian nationalism at this time, in which 'pride of race' and the 'blood tie' with Britain were emphasised (Reynolds 2000, 285). There was no space for Aborigines within these constructions of Australianness. Although the word 'Australian' referred to Aborigines for most of the nineteenth century (White 1981, 10), by 1871, when the Australian Natives' Association (ANA) was formed to represent the interests of White males born in the colonies, Whites had come to replace Aborigines as representative of Australia and indeed as native to Australia. The ANA's slogan 'Australia for the Australians', introduced in the 1880s (White 1981, 73), suggests that Australianness had become equated with whiteness. Similarly, the ardently nationalistic magazine *The Bulletin* (1887 cited White 1981, 81) constructed Australian identity as available to any White man who chose to reside in Australia, explicitly excluding various non-Whites from its conceptualisation:

All white men who come to these shores ... and who leave behind them the memory of the class-distinctions and the religious differences in the old world are Australian ... before they set foot on the ship which brings them hither ... No nigger, no Chinaman, no lascar, no kanaka, no purveyor of cheap coloured labour is an Australian.

In addition to the racial exclusion central to the idea of Australianness, this extract delineates requisite Australian attitudes – an aversion to both class distinctions and Catholic-Protestant enmity. Towards the end of the nineteenth century these attitudes were part of a group of character traits that, because they were perceived as differing most dramatically from those of the average Briton, came to be seen as distinctly Australian (Ward 1966, 11). Ironically, the endeavour to create a distinction with Britishness functioned to indicate the significance of Britain to White Australians. Contrasting Australianness with Britishness also implicitly constituted Australianness as White, but without British class and religious intolerance. Based on an idealised image of itinerant bush workers, the typical Australian was envisaged as a White male who was practical, adaptable, dependable, taciturn, intolerant of affectation, independent and anti-authoritarian with a strong propensity to swear, gamble and consume alcohol (Ward 1966, 16-17). Increased public literacy due to the 1870 Education Act enabled this bush ethos to be popularised through literature, such as the *Bulletin* (White 1981, 93). Within this nationalistic context, a new style of painting popularised by the Heidelberg School was promoted by the artists as portraying authentic Australianness. Representations of Australianness by this generation of White Australian-born writers and artists were considered more ‘real’ than the portrayals of previous immigrant generations (White 1981, 86). White solipsism is evident in the failure to acknowledge Aboriginal artists in this context. Moreover, these conceptualisations of Australianness tended to reflect European ideals and culture rather than anything intrinsically Australian (White 1981, 85). The Heidelberg School of artists, for example, who were deemed to see Australia through Australian eyes for the first time, were largely influenced by European art traditions (Elder 2007, 183; White 1991, 92).

These ideas of Australianness were enhanced following the participation of Australian troops in various British wars, especially the Boer War and, later, World War I (White 1981, 79). Not only did a national force prior to Federation temporarily displace inter-colony rivalries, the troops’ exemplary performance, such as their stamina and initiative, was attributed to their Australianness. Once again, the qualities which distinguished Australian soldiers were seen as produced by rural or bush life, especially for the war historian Charles Bean (White 1981, 132). For example, in his official history of World War I, Bean (1981, 47) asserted that ‘the Australian soldier differed very little from the Australian who at home rides the station boundaries every week-day and sits of a Sunday round the stockyard fence’. Whereas the typical Australian changed from a bushman to a soldier, putatively

Australian qualities such as independence, practicality and egalitarianism remained the same, as did the whiteness of the conceptualisation. Although these qualities were celebrated in non-White countries such as China, once they were Australianised, they were considered to only be applicable to Whites (Fitzgerald 2007, 234). Consequently, '[b]eing white was a necessary and sufficient indicator that someone would understand and live by Australian values' (Fitzgerald 2007, 27), as evidenced in the Bulletin quote above.

Conceptualisation of Australianness developed in the context of nineteenth-century racial ideology. Within this context, in which non-White immigration was increasingly restricted and Aborigines were fantasised to be 'dying out' (Reynolds 2001, 139), Australia was imagined as a White nation with a distinct identity in comparison to the 'mother country' (Stratton 1999, 180). Neither post-1940s recognition that the Aboriginal population was growing rather than decreasing, nor post-World War II non-White immigration had a meaningful impact on the idealised, racially-exclusive concept of Australianness. Indeed, in the latter case, Australia continued to be imagined as White by broadening the category of 'white skin' to include those of a darker hue than would previously have been acceptable (Stratton 1999, 164). Consequently, whiteness remained central to conceptions of Australianness. This relationship is still evident in the contemporary era (Elder 2007; Fitzgerald 2007; Hage 1998; Moreton-Robinson 2003).

The concept of national identity can be examined from multiple perspectives, such as race, gender, class or sexuality, among others. Because whiteness is often linked to maleness (Dyer 1997; Gale 2004, 326), I examine both racialised and, to a limited extent, gendered aspects of constructions of national identity, while overlooking other aspects such as class and sexuality. In particular I analyse the extent to which constructions of Australianness normalise and centre whiteness and/or incorporate non-Whites.

Structural changes

The only discernible pattern to the inclusion or exclusion of a dedicated section on Australian national identity in the texts in my sample is its increased prioritisation since the late 1990s. As a discrete topic, national identity is absent from my 1950s history text, the 1960s social studies set and *Map History*. However, it is present in my 1950s social studies set, both conventional 1960s histories as well as all the 1970s texts except for the cartoon history, *A Down Under Story*. It is a minor narrative in my

1980s texts but emphasised in Jacaranda texts/sets from the 1990s on. While the inclusion or exclusion of national identity from texts published prior to the 1990s may reflect author discretion, its prioritisation as one of only eight topics (on average) in Jacaranda texts published from the 1990s onwards signals its current prominent status.

In the following section, I analyse the racial inclusivity/exclusivity of narratives of national identity. With the exception of *Australia This Century*, every text that incorporates a section on national identity reproduces the standard narrative of a sense of Australianness developing in the late nineteenth century in opposition to Britishness and epitomised by itinerant male bush workers. (Some texts also critique aspects of this narrative.) I refer to this narrative as a discourse of White nationhood. These tropes implicitly construct Australianness as White, thereby excluding non-Whites, such as Aborigines and Chinese, from incorporation as Australians. Moreover, by locating narratives of Australianness in the late nineteenth century, post-World War II non-British immigrants are also excluded. While the racial exclusivity of these constructions is occasionally noted, it usually remains implicit. Australia is also explicitly constructed as White in drawings in which Australia is personified; on every occasion these drawings portray Australia as a White youth. Not until the 2000s is there an attempt to incorporate Aborigines within constructions of Australianness. However, rather than modifying previous constructions, references to Aborigines are simply appended to existing narratives. The practice of adding new content without modifying the text's original content or organising framework produces contradictions within texts whereby implicit constructions of otherness remain despite arguably genuine attempts at inclusivity. In contrast to the minimal inclusion of Aborigines in narratives of national identity, non-White immigrants are omitted from these narratives and consequently excluded from being positioned as Australian. However, non-White immigrants are occasionally positioned as Australian in chapters on non-White immigration which are discussed in the latter half of this chapter.

1950s

Both the 1950s texts in my sample link Australianness with Britishness, implicitly positioning Australians as White. The topic of Australian national identity is omitted from *A Junior History*. However, 'we' are framed as British descendants, and therefore White (1950, 86-7). Indeed, the text's preface is explicit in its construction of 'us' as White:

The object of this little book is to tell the wonderful story of our own country. Fewer than one hundred and fifty years ago no white man lived in our land. In so short a space of time by the pluck, hard work, and energy of our grandmothers and grandfathers, and of our mothers and fathers, a splendid heritage has been handed down to us.

A Junior History 1950, preface

In this discourse of White exceptionalism, the whiteness of the Australian readers of the text is positioned as given. Non-Whites, by contrast, are erased. *Out of the Mist* echoes these constructions:

There are several empires in the world to-day, as you can see by an empire map; and the greatest is our own. In fact, the British Empire is the largest and greatest empire ever known.

Out of the Mist, Book One 1952, 130

In addition to identifying as British however, *Out of the Mist* (*Book One* 1952, 36; *Book Two* 1956, 66) also expresses national pride in Australian achievements. *Book Four* (1956, 273) notes the growth of national feeling in the early twentieth century but omits any reference to tropes of national identity.

1960s

Colony to Nation (1960, 168) attributes the development of national identity to Australian participation in World War I. A short section on Australianness is also incorporated in the final chapter, in which a discourse of difference implicitly frames Australianness as White by distinguishing Australians from 'New Australians' (1960, 246) and 'foreign migrants' (1960, 247). Nineteenth-century tropes of Australianness are reproduced; mateship and the absence of class distinction are framed as developing in the 'outback', being disseminated to the city by writers such as Henry Lawson and, subsequently, characterising Australia's soldiers:

Twice, too, in world wars, hundreds of thousands of young Australian servicemen learnt the lesson of mateship as they strove, side-by-side in the trenches or in jungle, against a different sort of hardship.

Colony to Nation 1960, 248

The racialised and gendered nature of these discourses of White nationhood is not critiqued. Given that, in the White imagination, Aborigines are also located in the 'outback', Aborigines could be expected to epitomise these qualities yet are excluded from these portrayals of Australianness. Indeed, the 'outback' could only be

characterised by 'hardships and loneliness' (1960, 248) by ignoring the presence and relative comfort of Aborigines who are disregarded as 'people' who could share hardships or relieve loneliness. Rather than this possibility, Australianness is constructed in opposition to Aboriginality. For example, in earlier sections of the text, Aborigines are framed as a source of hardship for Whites (1960, 29, 92).

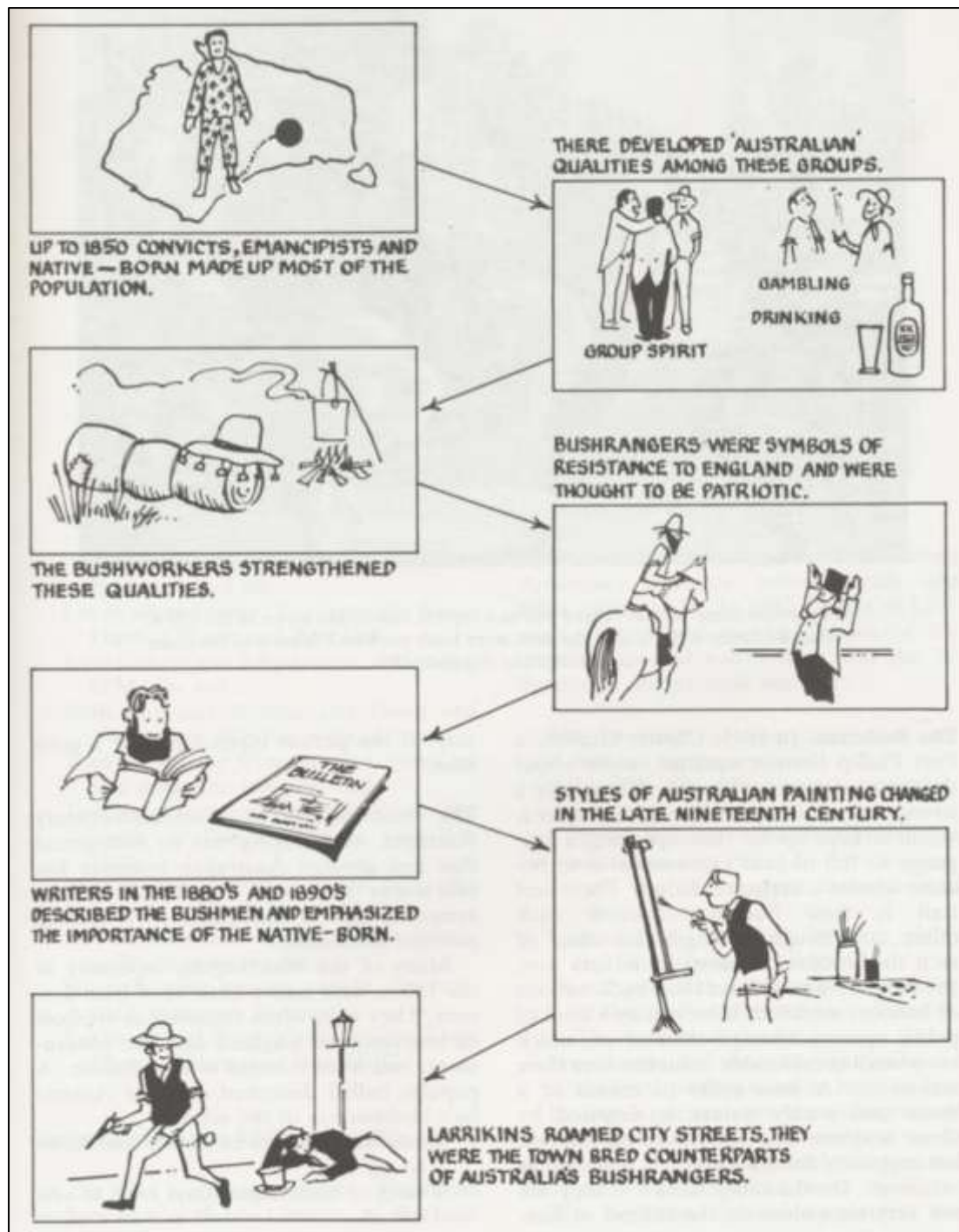


Figure 26: Australian nationalism in the nineteenth century (*Landmarks* 1969, 114)

Landmarks is the first text in my sample to include a chapter specifically on (White) nationhood. This chapter begins by reproducing the standard story of the development of 'a distinctive [White] "Australian" outlook and way of life' (1969, 113) and concludes with federation. A summary of this chapter's discourse of White nationhood is shown in Figure Twenty-Six. As illustrated in this diagram, the text reproduces Ward's thesis of White Australianness, including convict origins, typical characteristics of group spirit, gambling and drinking, association with the bush and reproduction by writers and artists. The centrality of alcohol to conceptions of White Australian identity is discussed in Chapter Four (see pages 62-63). Redolent of previous conceptualisations, bushworkers and bushrangers are framed as embodying these qualities. A unique feature of *Landmarks*' conceptualisation however, is its inclusion of larrikins and exclusion of soldiers. The absence of non-Whites and women from Figure Twenty-Six demonstrates the raced and gendered exclusivity of these constructions of Australianness. This exclusivity is reproduced rather than challenged in the text's narrative. For instance, the Bulletin's advocacy of 'Australia for the Australians – the cheap Chinaman, the cheap nigger, and the cheap European pauper to be absolutely excluded' (1969, 117) is cited without being critiqued.

In addition to these explicit constructions, Australianness is also implicitly constituted as White by discourses of solipsism in which the term Australian refers exclusively to Whites. For example, the chapter on nationhood is one of three chapters in a unit titled 'Australians all'. Although this title suggests inclusivity, Australians are equated exclusively with Whites. Australianness is also implicitly constituted as White in the remaining chapters in this unit. For example, the chapter 'Farms for the People' could more accurately be titled 'Farms for White Men' as this group was the sole group the text positions as needing land. Omitting the word White in cases like this supports Dyer's (1997, 1) assertion that 'as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as the human norm'. The fact that the word 'White' is absent but understood demonstrates that whiteness is normative. 'Australian' is implicitly understood to mean 'White Australian'.

1970s

Explicit constructions of national identity are absent from *A Down Under Story*. However, the diversity of immigrants to Australia from the time of the First Fleet is emphasised, implicitly challenging the Britishness of conventional constructions: 'apart from the Irish, twelve other nationalities were represented among the 1000

who made the first settlement' (1976, 49). Similarly, nationalities other than British are also emphasised in late nineteenth-century Australia:

By Federation, many minority groups had emerged, starting mostly with the goldrushes of the 1850's [sic]. Italian, Greek, Swedish, Polish, Danish, Dutch, Austrian, Swiss, Belgian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian and French.

A Down Under Story 1976, 49

This extract reveals an attempt to diversify the concept of Australianness by challenging the trope of dominant Britishness. Yet, only Russian and European non-Britons are mentioned. Chinese for example, who are mentioned in an earlier section on the gold rushes, are omitted, as are Aborigines. This is a discourse of disregard in which Australianness is represented as diverse in terms of nationality but not in terms of race.

Australia's Two Centuries' chapter on Australian identity deploys a discourse of White nationhood to reproduce standard tropes of Australianness: 'esprit de corps' among ex-convicts and bushrangers (1977, 94-5), the Heidelberg school's inspiration from the bush (1977, 96), ambivalent attitude to Britain (1977, 100-103) and the idea that 'Australia became a nation on the shores of Gallipoli' (1977, 107). Later however, the idea of a 'typical' Australian is questioned (1977, 108). This text also diverges from the standard story by noting the incongruity between where Australians lived and the idea of the bush as typically Australian:

... the artists and writers [of the late nineteenth century] saw the outback – its scenery and life – as typically Australian. The truth was that most [White] people lived in the cities.

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 99

As with *Landmarks* (above), this extract demonstrates the implicit conflation of people with White people. Nevertheless, the explicitly racialised nature of Australianness is critiqued by questioning whether the 'coloured races', which in this context included Aborigines, could be accepted as Australians. Rather than this question being positioned as a current issue however, it is framed as one that (White) Australians in the last decades of the nineteenth century pondered (1977, 96). This is a discourse of historical discontinuity which functions to affirm contemporary whiteness by contrast. Moreover, in considering this question, many objections to accepting 'coloured races' are noted, including inferiority, idolatry and the threat to reasonable working conditions (1977, 103-106). Some of these reasons are illustrated

in Figure Twenty-Seven. This image is reproduced in *SOSE 3* (1998, 142) and *Humanities 3* (2007, 78). In contrast, no reasons supporting the proposition that 'coloured races' be considered Australian are included. These manoeuvres function to consolidate rather than disrupt the whiteness of current conceptualisations of Australianness.



Figure 27: The Mongolian Octopus. What is meant by 'The Mongolian Octopus'? What evils does the artist suggest would come with the Chinese? (*Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 105*)

In *Australia's Frontiers* the topic of national identity is limited to a reference to 'common Australian attitudes' emerging in the late nineteenth century. Although posited as 'the most important factor' in unifying the colonies, these attitudes are not elaborated:

By the 1890s the feeling among the separated and isolated colonies that they had a great deal to gain from some sort of unity was growing stronger ... possibly the most important factor was that a great proportion of the population was Australian born, and common Australian attitudes were beginning to emerge in sport, art and literature.

Australia's Frontiers 1979, 60

Once again, Australianness is implicitly framed as White, with Aborigines, in particular, disregarded. Although this text includes an earlier unit in which Aborigines are framed as 'The First Australians', this positioning fails to unsettle the whiteness of the category 'Australian' in the extract above. With the exception of *SOSE Alive History 2*, this is true for the remaining texts in my sample that also

include early chapters framing Aborigines as 'First Australians'. *The Land They Found* and *Humanities Alive 3* reproduce the omission of Aborigines in later sections on national identity, suggesting that positioning Aborigines as 'First Australians' does not effectively broaden the category of 'Australian'. Arguably, prefixes such as 'First' or 'New' evidence discourses of difference which reinscribe rather than interrupt the normativity of White Australianness.

In its section on nationalism, *The Land They Found* equates Australians with Britons, implicitly constructing Australianness as White. Once again, the term people refers exclusively to White people:

For the first hundred years after settlement, the people of Australia did not think of themselves as being Australian or of Australia as a nation. They thought of themselves as Europeans living in a wilderness ... The thought of returning 'home' to Britain was never far from the minds of these people.

The Land They Found 1979, 208

This text reproduces the standard national identity tropes, with the nationalist movement depicted as led by 'editors, writers, poets, cartoonists, and artists', publications such as the *Bulletin* and the *Boomerang* noted for their 'notorious' criticism of anything 'un-Australian', and artists 'seeing the bush through Australian, not British, eyes' (1979, 209). This discourse reinscribes Australianness as a White identity.

1980s

The brief section on national identity in *Australia This Century* asks who 'we' are, listing but not elaborating different ways of approaching the question: emphasising the outback, multiculturalism, the Lucky Country or 'Black Australia (the land of the original "Australians")' (1982, 123). Whereas later texts in my sample attempt to incorporate Aborigines as a minor, supplementary category of Australianness, the latter (hypothetical) approach in the extract above positions Aborigines as a potential fundamental symbol of Australian national identity. Nevertheless, this possibility, which is not explored further, is unlikely to unsettle the dominant whiteness of Australian national identity more than momentarily. The function of the quotation marks surrounding the word 'Australians' is unclear. They may indicate the contested nature of positioning Aborigines as Australian. In the first chapter, for example, Australians are framed as having a British heritage: 'most

Australians came from (or their parents or grandparents had come from) the British Isles' (1982, 3). On the other hand, quotation marks may indicate that constructing Aborigines as the preeminent representation of Australianness is controversial.

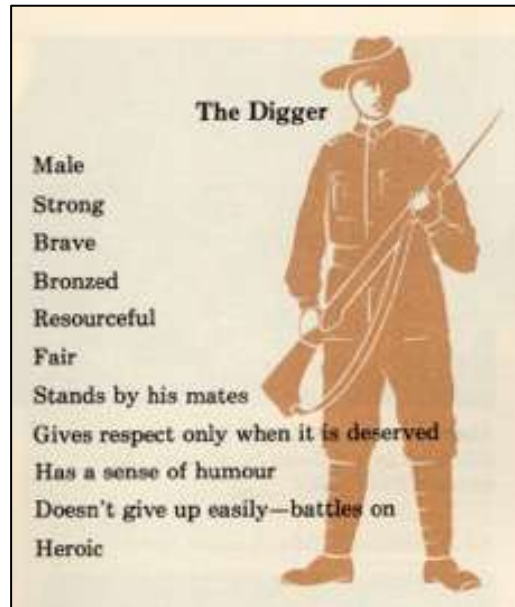


Figure 28: (Some of these are also characteristic of the Australian 'bushman' – another legendary figure.) How true is this picture of the Anzacs? (Australia This Century 1982, 31)

In an earlier section on the first World War, popular mythology about 'diggers' and 'the Australian "bushman"' is questioned. For example, the caption accompanying Figure Twenty-Eight asks 'How true is this picture of the Anzacs?'. The fact that 'we don't usually hear about' the 'darker side' of the Anzac legend, such as instances of Australian soldiers assaulting and raping Egyptians, is also noted (1982, 31).

Although Figure Twenty-Eight lists many of the characteristics of the Australian bushman/soldier, his racial identity is not stated, demonstrating that White Australians are not constituted as members of a racial group. On the other hand, the fact that the digger is 'bronzed' points to the taken-for-granted nature of his skin colour.

Was It Only Yesterday does not have a section on national identity. However, Australians are implicitly positioned as White throughout the text. For example, Australians are constructed as having British heritage (1983, 8). Moreover, chapters such as 'How people lived' deploy discourses of solipsism to equate people with White people. The personification of Australia as White in this text is illustrated in Figure Twenty-Nine.



**Figure 29: Why does Mother Britain have a navy ship on her apron?
Why is Australia shown as a child?
(*Was It Only Yesterday, Second Edition* 1989, 10)**

1990s

From the 1990s, constructions of Australianness have an increased prominence, with a dedicated chapter in each text/set. *Voices from the Past*'s penultimate chapter 'The dawn of nationalism' explores this topic in more depth than any of the previous texts in my sample, with extensive sections on portrayals of Australianness in literature and art. Standard discourses of White nationhood are reproduced, such as the formation of Australian identity in opposition to Britishness (1994, 222) and the development of independence and mateship due to the difficulties of bush life (1994, 222-3). On the other hand, the idea of the 'country dweller' as the 'typical Australian' is questioned (1994, 223; see also extract below). The text's use of the term 'country dweller' as opposed to bushman indicates an attempt to challenge conventional constructions of Australianness as exclusively male, as does its incorporation of White female editors (1994, 223), writers (1994, 227-8) and artists (1994, 229-230) who contributed to the development of national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, synopses of both Mary Gilmore and Barbara Baynton's writing function to challenge idealist constructions of bush life. The text notes that Gilmore's works occasionally dealt with the destruction of Aboriginal groups, while Baynton wrote about 'the terrors of life in the bush' for women (1994,

227). Limitations to the late nineteenth-century conceptualisation of Australian identity are also noted in the context of racial exclusivity:

... it was to be an Australia only for Europeans. Asians were to be excluded and Aborigines were regarded as comic or dangerous figures who were not counted as part of the Australian population. *Voices from the Past* 1994, 231

The racial exclusivity of Australianness however, is again anchored in the past. This discourse of historical discontinuity demonstrates some willingness to admit White prejudice in the past, accompanied by the eschewal of any reference to the continuation of racial exclusivity in the present. An exercise earlier in the chapter also locates racial ignorance in the past: students are asked to consider whether 'there is something odd' about the Boomerang magazine's title given its definition of Australia: 'the whole white people of this great continent' (1994, 223). In the extract above, the cultural-geographical term European is substituted for the racial term White, evidencing a resistance to framing Whites in racial terms. This resistance is also demonstrated in the paragraph subsequent to the above extract where both the terms European and White are used. The use of quotation marks around the word White is superfluous, indicating the contested nature of racialising Whites:

Most of the Australians who read or viewed these works were people who lived in the city, but they still identified the 'typical Australian' as a European ('white') person who lived and worked in the bush. *Voices from the Past* 1994, 231

In contrast to other Jacaranda sets in my sample in which chapters on Australianness are only included in one text from each set, chapters on this topic are contained in both *SOSE 3* and *4*. *SOSE 3*'s chapter 'Calling Australia Home' covers a range of topics including nationalism, union-driven improvements to working conditions, sport and federation. Standard discourses of White nationhood are reproduced, thereby positioning Australians as White. In contrast to previous texts however, the constructed nature of Australian identity is emphasised by using phrases such as 'came to believe' and '[i]t was thought' (1998, 126):

This group of people [White Australians born in the colonies], most of whom were city or town dwellers, came to believe that the real differences between the two countries were to be found in the nature of the Australian outback compared with the British countryside. The flora and fauna were obviously different but, more important, were the human qualities developed by the harsh

Australian bush experience. It was thought that these qualities or characteristics made [White] Australians different from other people. SOSE 3 1998, 126

Once again, links between Aborigines and Whites suggested by a shared location in the Australian 'bush' are overlooked. As in the following example, in which Ward's thesis is presented as a construction rather than a reflection of reality, the terms 'Australians' and 'men' refer exclusively to Whites:

Russel Ward ... suggested ... that the bush helped develop 'mateship' ... men in the outback needed to be practical and to be able to improvise or 'make do' ... Often such men were convicts or ex-convicts who resented authority. Hard drinking, hard swearing and hard gambling were other characteristics identified by Ward as being related to the outback. SOSE 3 1998, 126

Contradicting these implicit constructions of Australians as White, the text also critiques Ward's characterisations, firstly as not representative of 'the urban white male, Aborigines or females' and secondly as not exclusive to Australians, but applicable to people of other nationalities as well (1998, 127). Yet these criticisms are overlooked in later sections dealing with literature and art, in which it is asserted that 'perhaps for the first time, Australia was seen and described through Australian eyes' (1998, 128). This trope erases Aborigines from the category 'Australian' by claiming that White Australians were the first to see and describe Australia through 'Australian eyes'. The Bulletin's conviction of White superiority is also reported uncritically (1998, 129).

The expanded coverage of war in texts from the 1980s onwards (see page 80) facilitates the inclusion of images such as Figure Thirty which shows a World War I conscription cartoon with Australia depicted as a small White boy. This image is reproduced in *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 115) and *Humanities Alive 4* (2007, 23). As with other images in which Australia is personified as a person, the person is White and depicted as young in comparison to 'old' countries, revealing White solipsism.



Figure 30: untitled (*SOSE 4* 1998, 18)

The history section of *SOSE 4* concludes with a chapter titled 'Australians all ... are we not?'. In contrast to chapters on national identity which are positioned within the late nineteenth century, this chapter discusses contemporary Australia. This chapter is an explicit attempt to broaden the category of Australian to incorporate Aborigines and non-White immigrants (discussed in a later section, see pages 249-250). The attempt itself demonstrates the whiteness of normative conceptualisations of Australianness. Including a unit on 'Australia's indigenous people' in this chapter highlights Aborigines' implicit positioning as other to normative Australianness. The explicit attempt to frame Aborigines as Australian at this late stage of the text does not overpower the exclusion produced in the previous chapters of the text. Rather, this attempt demonstrates the contrived nature of this inclusion. For example, the text states that 'Aboriginal history is Australian history' (1998, 170). Yet, this line occurs in the final ten pages of the 300 page history section in this set, making it unlikely to disrupt the implicit construction of Australian history as White up until this point. While many chapters from *SOSE 3* and *4* are duplicated in subsequent Jacaranda texts, 'Australians all ... are we not?' is omitted from all subsequent texts with the exception of a second edition of *SOSE 3* (2000).

2000s

In contrast to the uniform whiteness of previous texts' portrayals of nineteenth-century national identity, *SOSE Alive History 2*'s chapter 'Becoming Australian' incorporates Aborigines, with a discussion of the impact of White settlement on Aborigines (2005, 75) as well as the inclusion of Aboriginal images (see page 91). The introductory image, a photograph of Cathy Freeman after her gold medal sprint in the Sydney 2000 Olympics, implicitly positions Aborigines as Australian. The fact that this inclusion is noteworthy in a 2005 history text is a conspicuous demonstration of the whiteness of standard conceptions of Australian identity. The accompanying text notes how 'sport helps to unify us whatever our background and beliefs' (2005, 73). In this context, 'us' implicitly includes Aborigines. Although the deracialised, oblique terms 'background' and 'beliefs' are used instead of racialised ones such as race, ethnicity or even heritage, Freeman's sporting achievement is framed as a unifying factor for a diverse nation.

In addition, the unit 'Voice of the workers' in which mateship is linked to the formation of unions (2005, 82) includes a photograph of women from Coranderrk. In contrast to Freeman's photograph, this image is racialised: 'Indigenous women on Coranderrk Aboriginal reserve in Healesville, Victoria, used strikes to protest against European authorities' (2005, 83). Nevertheless, this image implicitly positions Aborigines as Australian workers. Moreover, the absence of an explicit statement for either photograph justifying the inclusion of Aborigines bolsters this inclusivity by constructing this positioning as unexceptional. However, the controversial nature of these inclusions is demonstrated by the omission of both photographs from this chapter when it is replicated in *Humanities Alive 3*. Aborigines are also implicitly positioned as Australian by being incorporated into other chapters throughout the text, as explained in Chapter Four (see page 91).

An example of Aboriginal art is also appended to the White story of the development of Australian identity in the unit 'Australian perspectives' (2005, 87). In previous texts this topic comprised White art and literature, such as landscapes by artists of the Heidelberg school and writings by Andrew 'Banjo' Paterson and Henry Lawson. In addition to these examples, *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 87) also includes William Barak's 1898 'Figures in possum skin cloaks'. The accompanying text emphasises the common theme of attachment to land present in all the images. While an Aboriginal painting that depicted connection to the land would, arguably, be more relevant, the attempt to challenge the notion that Whites were the only

artists to demonstrate connection to the land is noteworthy. The trope that the Heidelberg School artists were the first to paint Australian landscapes with Australian eyes is reconfigured as an acknowledgement that these paintings were more realistic in comparison to the European look of previous paintings, thereby avoiding links to Australianness (2005, 86).

Notwithstanding these changes, standard national identity tropes of White exceptionalism are reproduced in the rest of the chapter, offsetting the attempts at inclusivity outlined above. For example, Australianness is again framed as developing in opposition to Britishness, thereby excluding those of non-British heritage from being considered Australian. Inconsistencies between the popular image of Australianness and reality, such as the urban population in contrast to the 'bush dweller' (2005, 84) are noted, with the phrase 'typical Australian' placed in quotation marks to indicate its constructed nature. The White, male identity of this 'typical Australian' is made explicit (2005, 84). Questions at the end of the unit probe the gendered nature of this construction but not its racial exclusivity (2005, 87). In a similar way to *Voices From the Past* (see page 194), the idealised image of the bushman is challenged by noting the brutal and violent male characters in Barbara Boynton's writing (2005, 85).

The idea of soldiers embodying Australianness is omitted from this text's chapter on Australian identity. However, this idea is evoked on the text's cover in which the main image shows the statue of US soldiers raising the flag at Iwo Jima. For this Australian history text however, the US flag has been replaced by an Australian flag, creating the impression that the image is designed to portray Australian soldiers to student readers. The alterations to this iconic image piqued my curiosity leading me to scour the text for further information. There were no references to this image in the text. Indeed, the only mention of US involvement in World War II focused on Pearl Harbor. In the online resources linked to this text however, a worksheet about the cover framed the replacement of the US flag with the Australian flag as 'a loose visual link' signifying the strategic Australian-US alliance developed during World War II (Jacaranda online 2004). However, unless students access this particular worksheet (one of 37 worksheets for this text), they are likely to interpret this image, on the front cover of an Australian history text, as representing Australianness. Whereas all students are exposed to the cover image, arguably only a minority access and read the online worksheet explaining the image. The 'Activities' sections at the end of units directs students to some worksheets. The remaining worksheets

are presumably accessed as a result of teacher command or individual interest. The likelihood of students accessing the cover worksheet is reduced due to its location in this latter category.

In many ways, the chapter on 'Becoming Australian' in *Humanities Alive 3* duplicates the content in *SOSE Alive History 2*'s chapter of the same name. Rather than contesting previous tropes of White exceptionalism, Aboriginal content is simply appended to the existing narrative. However, the Aboriginal content is noticeably reduced in comparison to *SOSE Alive History 2* with the photographs of Cathy Freeman and women at Coranderrk replaced with non-Aboriginal images and the art section in 'Australian perspectives', which included Barak's artwork, omitted. Replacing these representations of Aboriginality is a photograph of pastoral workers in a new unit 'Community snapshots' (2006, 83). The reduction in Aboriginal content in this text demonstrates the tentative nature of positioning Aborigines as Australian. It also reaffirms the whiteness of Australian national identity and demonstrates the power White Australians have to determine constructions of Australianness and Aboriginality.

In contrast to this reduction in Aboriginal content, the chapter 'Australia in a changing world' in the other text in this set, *Humanities Alive 4*, has increased content on non-Whites: new units on post-war immigration and multiculturalism (see pages 252-253) and more extensive coverage of Indigenous issues with four units in contrast to one in the corresponding chapter in *SOSE Alive History 2*. These Indigenous units have a celebratory tone, deploying discourses of historical discontinuity to relegate injustices to past eras and discourses of White benevolence to assert that reconciliation is advancing (2007, 120-1) and Aboriginal rights are improving such that '[s]lowly but surely ... lifestyle inequities ... are being changed' (2007, 118). This is a White perspective on the position of Aborigines in contemporary Australia, which seeks to revalorise White Australians:

Indigenous people in Australia won the right to vote in 1962; even then they were not counted in the Census, and their affairs were still managed by the state governments. But growing awareness of human rights issues, specifically those relating to racial discrimination, was beginning to turn the tide for Indigenous people in Australia.

Humanities Alive 4 2007, 114

In this extract Aborigines are framed as 'Indigenous people in Australia' rather than Australians, reinscribing the normative whiteness of Australianness.

The chapter 'Australian identity and nationhood' in *Humanities 3* reverts to a more inclusive approach in comparison to *Humanities Alive 3*, implicitly positioning Aborigines as Australians. Nevertheless, this positioning is immediately discounted by the reproduction of standard discourses of White nationhood. A section on 'Identity and the Dreamtime' is featured early in a unit on the development of Australian identity, supplemented by Barak's 'Figures in possum skin cloaks' (2007, 60). In a similar way to the extract above however, rather than representing Aborigines as Australians, the text positions Aborigines as living in Australia: '500 different Aboriginal tribes ... lived in Australia in 1788' (2007, 60). At other places in the text however, Aborigines are identified as 'Aboriginal Australians' (2007, 76) and 'Indigenous Australians' (2007, 138). Moreover, the phrases 'non-indigenous residents', 'non-indigenous population' (2007, 60) and 'native-born non-indigenous Australians' (2007, 63) are used in preference to '(White) Australian'. Whereas normative whiteness positions Australians as White, such that hyphenated names are applied only to non-White Australians, this text's hyphenating of White Australianness disrupts White normativity. However, the term 'Australian' reappears occasionally, perhaps unintentionally, when referring to White Australians. For example, interspersed amongst the hyphenated phrases mentioned above, Australians are constructed as British: 'Representations of an Australian identity showed Australians as people moulded by different experiences from those of their British counterparts' (2007, 62). In the chapter on Australian identity, Aborigines are also included in units on voting rights (2007, 60) and working conditions (2007, 82). A later unit on 'Indigenous voices in the 1930s' (2007, 138-9) covers Aboriginal activism during the Depression era.

In place of 'The changing face of Australia' chapters in previous texts which covered a diversity of issues, *Humanities 4*, separates these issues into separate chapters with issues for those other than White, males (Aborigines and White females) covered in a chapter on 'Changing rights and freedoms'. This structure functions to affirm the normativity of White males. Six units in this chapter cover contemporary Aboriginal issues fairly comprehensively. In comparison to the relative absence of Aborigines from earlier texts (with the exception of *Humanities Alive 4*), this information enables ignorance about these issues to be tempered. Aborigines are also represented in the penultimate chapter with sections on Evonne Goolagong (2008, 101) in a unit on sport and the movies *Jedda* (2008, 104-5) and *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2008, 106-7) in a unit on the impact of movies on Australian identity. Nevertheless, units on frontier

conflict are reduced (see page 159), enabling a more celebratory portrayal of Aboriginal-White relations.

Summary

Table 10 shows changes to explicit constructions of national identity over the period of my research sample. The third column shows that while a dedicated section on national identity is present throughout this period, these chapters are consistently prioritised from the 1990s. Whereas links between Australianness and war cease after the 1980s (column four), other nineteenth-century tropes of national identity are reproduced throughout my sample (column five). The sixth column shows that Aborigines are absent from constructions of national identity until the 1980s. The final column shows texts in which Australia is personified as a White youth. These images are frequent from the 1980s onwards.

Table 10: Explicit constructions of national identity in textbooks

Decade	Title	Dedicated section	Linked to war	19 th century tropes	Aborigines included	Australia personified
1950s	A Junior History					
	Out of the Mist					
1960s	Colony to Nation	•	•	•		
	Soc Studies Sec Schools					
	A Map History					
	Landmarks	Chapter		•		
1970s	A Down Under Story					
	Australia's Two Centuries	Chapter	•	Reproduced & critiqued		•
	Australia's Frontiers					
	The Land They Found	•	•	•		
1980s	Australia This Century	•	•		•	
	Coupe & Andrews*					•
1990s	Voices from the Past	Chapter		Reproduced & critiqued	Exclusion noted	•
	SOSE 3/4	Chapter		Reproduced & critiqued		•
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2	Chapter		Reproduced & critiqued	Integrated	•
	Humanities Alive 3/4	Chapter		•	Less integrated	•
	Humanities 3/4	Chapter		Reproduced & critiqued	integrated	

*Coupe & Andrews are the authors of the two-book set *Their Ghosts May be Heard* and *Was It Only Yesterday*

In this section I have demonstrated that, with the exception of *Australia This Century*, texts published in the twentieth century deploy discourses of White nationhood to construct Australianness as exclusively White. Compared to the previous topics analysed, narratives of national identity are relatively uniform. Texts from the 1950s explicitly position Australians as White via discourses of White exceptionalism. In contrast, later texts construct whiteness implicitly by excluding Aborigines and non-White immigrants from portrayals of Australianness. White Australianness is bolstered by discourses of difference and disregard, solipsism and historical discontinuity. White inundation is also evident with every personification of Australia depicting a White youth.

Although some texts give cursory recognition to Aborigines as 'First Australians', evidence of this recognition in subsequent narratives of national identity is present in only one text published in the twentieth-century. In contrast, to varying degrees, texts published in the current century evidence attempts to position Aborigines as Australian within these narratives. These texts also omit previous constructions of Aborigines as 'enemies of the nation' (Langton 2008a, xxiv). Nevertheless, implicit and explicit constructions of Australians as White and Aborigines as other in the remainder of the text contradict these attempts.

Post-World War II non-White immigrants are excluded from consideration by positioning narratives of Australianness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Recognition of racial diversity in this era is avoided by constructing Australianness in opposition to Britishness. Racial purity based on Asian exclusion was central to Australian nationalism at this time (Fitzgerald 2007, 2). The exclusion of nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants from units on Australianness in recently published texts demonstrates that racially based exclusion remains a dominant theme in current conceptualisations of Australianness (Ang 1999, 193). Indeed, no texts in my sample include non-White immigrants in narratives of national identity. However, texts published this century occasionally position non-White immigrants as Australian in later chapters on contemporary Australia. These practices are shown in Chart Nine.

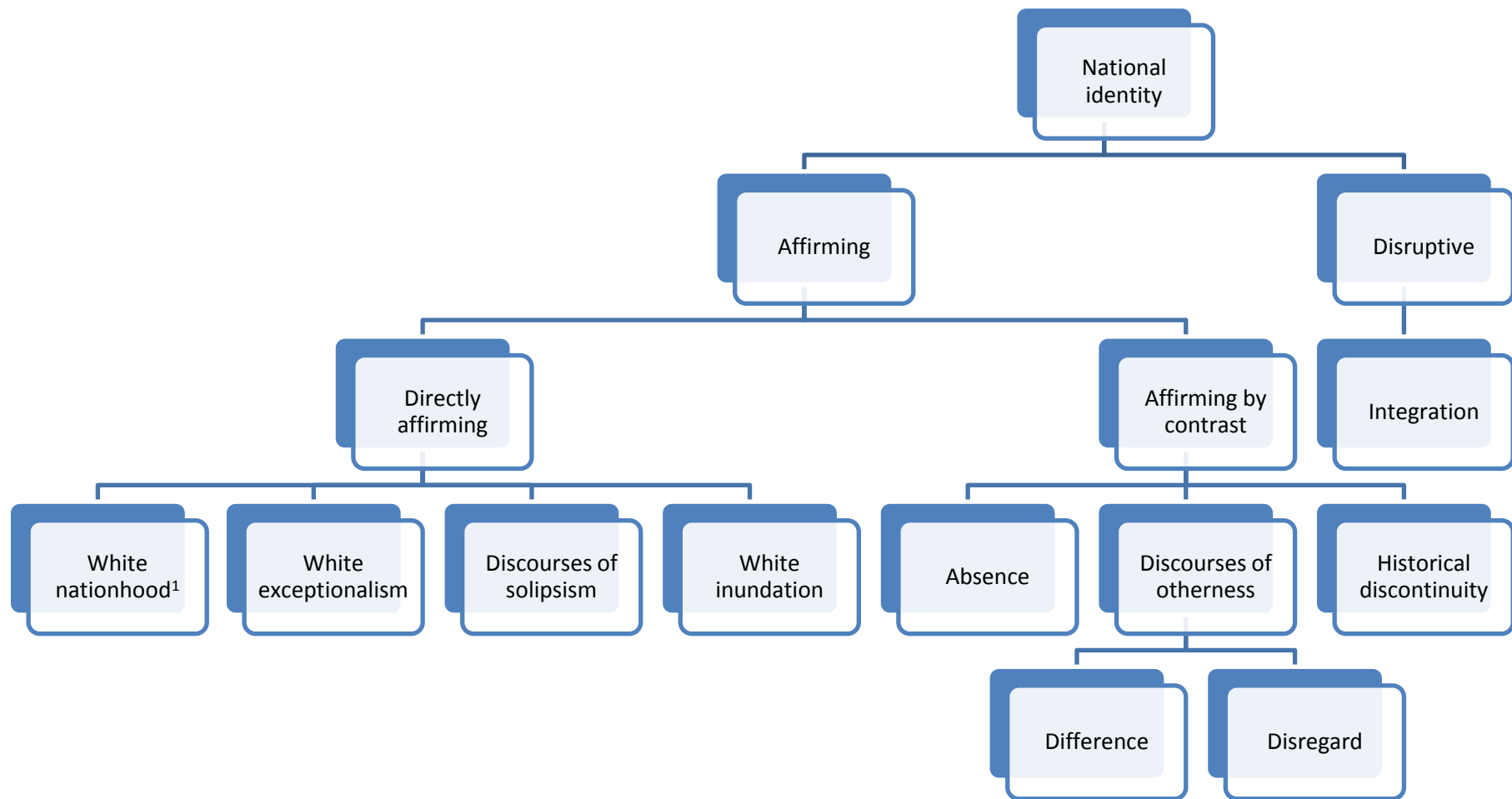


Chart 9: Discourses of national identity

1. White nationhood: discourses which construct Australianness as White

Non-White immigration

Constructions of Australianness are also evident in sections covering non-White immigration. As the Bulletin extract above (see page 201) demonstrates, Australianness is unquestioningly granted to immigrants from White countries. In contrast, non-White immigration is constructed either as self-evidently unacceptable or, at best, provisional, subject to White discretion. These discourses frame Australia as a White possession, with Whites as legitimate authorities policing entry. These narratives are present in sections covering Chinese immigration during the 1850s gold rushes, federation and the development of the White Australia Policy and post-World War II immigration. In this section, I discuss these three topics in turn.

Chinese on the goldfields

An increased emphasis on twentieth-century history in the more recent texts in my sample has resulted in the omission of much of the pre-twentieth century history found in earlier texts (see Chart Two, page 80). Narratives of the gold rushes have endured as one of only four remaining topics for this era. Whereas some narratives of twentieth century history frame post-war immigrants as 'New Australians', this label is never extended to Chinese. Although occasionally framed as immigrants, Chinese are typically positioned as unwanted invaders, reflecting White Australians' long-standing conviction of the 'Yellow Peril'. Since colonisation White Australians had felt vulnerable to invasion due to their isolation from Europe and attendant location in Asia (Ang 1999, 192). This White fear of invasion was exacerbated by the arrival of Chinese miners on the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s (Jupp 2007, 18). Consequently, when Australian nationhood was imagined in the last decades of the nineteenth century, it was largely formed in opposition to Asia (Ang 1999, 199). Indeed, as intimated by the slogan 'populate or perish', even the relaxation of Australia's immigration policy in the post-World War Two era was motivated by the desire to exclude Asians (Ang 1999, 195). According to Ang (1999, 193), the tension between Australia's White/European identity and non-European location remains current even today.

The exclusion of Chinese and their descendants from chapters discussing the development of national identity in the late nineteenth century is predicated on the myth that Chinese overwhelmingly returned to China after the gold rushes. Contrary to this myth however, Fitzgerald (2007, xii) states that 'close to half' of the 100 000 Chinese men who came to the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century remained in the region. Nevertheless, the myth functions to obscure Chinese

presence in Australia, thereby precluding positioning Chinese as Australian. Consequently, Chinese are only discussed in sections on the gold rushes, federation and/or the White Australia Policy, and occasionally post-World War II immigration. Whereas in the former topics Chinese are constructed in opposition to Australianness, in the latter case Chinese are included within conceptualisations of Australianness, contradicting their earlier positioning. The structural segregation of Chinese within Australian history texts augments the fabricated distinction between 'Chinese' and 'Australian'. In this section, I analyse representations of Chinese in gold rush narratives. The role of anti-Chinese sentiment in the decision to federate and the development of the White Australia Policy and the inclusion of Chinese in sections on post-World War II immigration are discussed in subsequent sections.

The texts in my sample reproduce rather than critique disparate portrayals of White and Chinese immigrant miners, with no discernible temporal pattern. A discourse of White entitlement is evident in overt support for policies and practices that privilege White miners and disadvantage non-Whites, such as the entry tax for Chinese miners. The absence of an entry tax for White immigrants reinscribes the Australian colonies as White possessions. The Chinese entry tax and, in some texts, the White Australia Policy are positioned as reasonable responses to ostensibly excessive Chinese immigration or as preventative measures against inter-racial conflict. In contrast, the miner's licence is listed as one of the (White) miners' grievances. Implicit in the support of an entry free for Chinese alongside opposition of the miner's licence is the taken-for-granted expectation that policies and practices should (unfairly) privilege Whites. According to Garner (2007, 11) this sense of entitlement 'can only make sense if the centuries-long ideological labour establishing the idea that white people are superior in terms of civilisation is acknowledged'.

With the exception of an extract from a petition in the second edition of *Their Ghosts May be Heard*, Chinese perspectives are absent from the texts in my sample. Instead, gold rush narratives are framed from the White perspective, with Chinese subjected to the White gaze. For example, rather than Chinese grievances being discussed, Chinese are framed as another of the White miners' grievances. Similarly, until the 1990s (SOSE 3 1998, 100; SOSE *Alive History* 2 2005, 54-5; *Humanities Alive* 3 2006, 58-9), the gold fields are constructed as peaceful, law abiding places in spite of anti-Chinese violence. Only one text in my sample covering pre-twentieth century history, *Australia's Frontiers*, omits any reference to Chinese on the goldfields.

1950s

A Junior History acknowledges both Chinese and 'European' immigration during the gold rushes. Anti-Chinese rioting is omitted however, and the sole reference to Chinese is disparaging: 'shiploads of seekers began to arrive from all parts of Europe, and thousands of Chinese trooped in, packed in ships like cattle' (1950, 83). The phrase 'packed in ships like cattle' is superfluous to the overall narrative. However, as a discourse of deficiency, it functions to dehumanise Chinese and evoke connotations of excessive numbers of Chinese arrivals.

Chinese are absent from sections on gold mining in *Out of the Mist*, but present in a section on the White Australia Policy in *Book Four*. The information on Chinese in this section is limited to describing relative proportions of Chinese to White Australians:

A great flow of coloured people came, however, after the Gold Rush when thousands of Chinese entered Australia. By 1859 there were some 42 000 Chinese on the Victorian goldfields, or nearly one in every twenty of the Australian population. At one field in Queensland in the seventies there were more than four Chinese to every white.

Out of the Mist, Book Four 1956, 248

This extract positions the number of Chinese on the goldfields as excessive. Implicit but unstated is the sense of threat associated with the stated ratios. Also unstated is the assumption that Whites should outnumber 'coloured people'; that Australia is a White possession. In a cursory acknowledgment of Chinese who remained after the gold rush however, Chinese are framed as citizens, although subject to the White gaze: 'many Chinese have become most industrious citizens' (1956, 249).

1960s

Colony to Nation attributes White anti-Chinese sentiment to exasperation that Chinese prospered at claims previously abandoned by Whites:

[T]hey lived in their own small communities and were often content to re-work the shafts and tailings left by hasty white miners. With perseverance the Chinese usually made quite a good living by such mining, greatly to the annoyance of the former mine owners.

Colony to Nation 1960, 104

Nevertheless, the prevention of rioting by imposing restriction on Chinese immigration rather than policing Whites is defended rather than questioned:

... both Victoria and New South Wales tried to prevent such incidents [riots] by imposing restrictions on Chinese immigration. From these measures dates the beginning of what was later to be known as The White Australia Policy.

Colony to Nation 1960, 104

Social Studies for Secondary Schools' only reference to Chinese on the goldfields is a list of various nationalities/races arriving during the gold rushes in a chapter on population growth: 'Englishmen, Scots, Irishmen, Arabs, Negroes, Chinese and Europeans of various nationalities' (1963, 62). Although no distinction is made between White and non-White immigrants, there is no further mention of non-European immigrants in the text. This brief list is unlikely to disturb normative whiteness. Whiteness is also affirmed by distinguishing English and Irish immigrants from the remainder by attaching the suffix 'men' exclusively to the former.

A Map History omits any reference to Chinese from its maps covering gold (Map 34) and pre-1940s immigration (Map 40). However, a section on Chinese on the goldfields is included in Map 43 'White Australia'. This positioning emphasises the otherness of Chinese in comparison to normative Australianness, thereby precluding framing Chinese as miners or immigrants. White Australia is constructed in opposition to Chinese and 'South Sea Islanders', supporting Fitzgerald's (2007, 2) assertion that racial exclusivity is central to Australian nationalism (see also Ang 1999, 199). The explicitly anti-Asian nature of this construction is tempered in the third edition of this text, by substituting the term 'non-European' for 'Asian':

Since 1945 there has been some relaxation of the [Immigration Restriction] Act: Asian students are admitted to the country temporarily, and Asian wives or husbands of Australians are admitted permanently. *A Map History* 1963, 43

Since 1945 there has been some relaxation of the Act: non-European students are admitted temporarily ... non-European spouses of Australians are admitted permanently ... *A Map History, Third Edition* 1978, 45

Self-evidently unacceptable levels of Chinese immigration are intimated by contrasting White and Chinese population levels:

... they threatened to swamp the white population. In Victoria in 1859 one in seven was a Chinese, and on the Palmer goldfield in 1877 the Chinese community outnumbered the whites twelve to one. *A Map History* 1963, 43

The claim that Chinese miners threatened to swamp the White population is positioned as factual, thereby reinscribing Australia as a White possession, framing Whites as possessors rather than immigrants. This claim also invokes the right of Whites to enter Australia regardless of their country of origin. White antagonism towards Chinese miners in response to this ostensibly excessive immigration is framed as legitimate and the entry tax a prudent measure to prevent more riots. While this construction reveals the racial basis of White prejudice, its potential to disrupt whiteness is minimised by its uncritical reproduction. Indeed, Chinese miners are constituted in opposition to 'Australians on the gold-fields', thereby fallaciously framing all non-Chinese gold miners as Australian. This construction echoes the Bulletin's claim that Australianness is available for all White men, being gifted merely on entry to the colonies (see page 201). Indeed, Anderson (2002) contends that the distinction between White migrants from diverse countries and Chinese during the gold rushes was crucial to linking whiteness with Australianness. However, the nationalistic term 'Australian' functions to mask racism with benign nationalism.

Landmarks (1969, 63) includes Chinese among the nationalities arriving for the gold rushes. Nevertheless, its section on 'Life at the diggings' (1969, 63-67) only represents White miners' experiences. Indeed, Chinese were not considered to be diggers as shown in the following extract in which 'diggers' are distinguished from Chinese: '[t]here was another important problem which caused disagreements between diggers and the authorities. This was the presence of the Chinese of the goldfields' (1969, 66). This is a discourse of solipsism in which the term 'digger' is understood as White without being explicitly racialised. Similarly, the term 'miner' refers exclusively to White, or at least non-Chinese, miners, as demonstrated in this assertion of camaraderie on the goldfields: 'This camp site [the Government Camp] was very different from the goldfield, where every miner was thought to be as good as his neighbour' (1969, 64). Given the enmity demonstrated by the White diggers towards Chinese, this extract makes sense only if 'every miner' refers solely to White miners. The domination of whiteness throughout the text primes the reader to understand this implicitly. For those who have been educated in whiteness, no dissonance is created by these two extracts.

A further contradiction is the portrayal of White miners as law-abiding in the same section that describes Chinese as being ‘buried alive’ during the riot at Lambing Flat in 1861 (1969, 66-7). This section ‘Law-abiding, or ...?’ asserts that it is difficult to determine if the diggers were peaceful and law-abiding or not but concludes that ‘[a]part from licences and the liquor problem, most diggers obeyed the law’ (1969, 66). This conclusion is supported by locating Figure Thirty-One in a later section on the White Australia Policy (1969, 170) rather than in the section on the gold rushes.



Figure 31: ‘The terrified Asiatics scarcely made any resistance’ (*Landmarks* 1969, 170)

This image is reproduced in gold rush units in five other texts in my sample, with varying captions. The caption in *Landmarks* (above) is an extract from a description of the massacre from the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1880, years after the event. This description, reproduced in the gold rush chapter (1969, 66), highlights White brutality. However, the extract in Figure Thirty-One highlights the putative absence of resistance by the Chinese. The captions used in *Their Ghosts May be Heard* (1994, 220), *Voices from the Past* (1994, 132) and *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 63) label the riot as a massacre. For example, the caption in the latter text states that ‘[u]narmed Chinese were robbed, brutalised and many were killed’ (2005, 63). In contrast,

murder is overtly denied in *Humanities Alive* 3 (2006, 65): 'Although many Chinese diggers were brutally attacked, none were killed'. The final text which includes this image, *Humanities* 3 (2007, 45), avoids controversy, simply labelling the image 'Lambing Flat riots'. The accompanying text omits mentioning murder, but does not deny it: '[t]he Chinese were insulted, brutally attacked and driven from the goldfield'. The latter two examples illustrate the avoidance of controversy in texts published in this century.

It is noteworthy that anti-Chinese riots are included in *Landmarks*' 'Law-abiding, or ...?' section not because of perceived criminal activity on the part of White diggers but because of their disagreement with authorities about the presence of Chinese on the goldfields. In reference to anti-Chinese rioting, Chinese are portrayed as 'poor' and 'defenceless'. While, arguably, an appeal to empathy, this depiction emphasises Chinese deficiency while minimising White violence. Passive constructions are used which also minimise White culpability: rather than being ruthlessly murdered, Chinese 'lost their lives' (1969, 66). Indeed, the Chinese are held at least partly responsible, for failing to leave fast enough. Although the basis of White prejudice against Chinese is contested (1969, 67), Chinese are consistently positioned as other rather than members of the nation.

1970s

A Down Under Story (1976, 12) recycles the trope of Chinese as slaves 'cruelly exploited by their Chinese masters' but, later contests the putative willingness of Chinese to work for lower wages (see below). The myth of Chinese slavery is refuted by Fitzgerald (2007, viii) who argues that 'Chinese Australians ... were no less committed to freedom, equality and fraternal solidarity than were other Australians'. As shown in Figure Thirteen (see page 74), *A Down Under Story* rebukes 'European diggers' for blaming Chinese for problems which were actually caused by 'their British masters' (1976, 12). The term 'European diggers' demonstrates recognition that Chinese were also diggers, contesting discourses of solipsism.

In many texts, the putative willingness of Chinese to work for lower wages is included as justification for restricting Chinese immigration, due to the potential risk to White wages. This claim reveals the privileging of White interests as normative. *A Down Under Story* contests the ubiquity of lower wages for Chinese via a discourse of non-White agency, citing the example of the Chinese Workers' Union (1976, 24). Moreover, White unionists' refusal to align with Chinese along class lines due to

racism is framed as leaving both Whites and Chinese more vulnerable to exploitation (1976, 24). Although on this occasion, Chinese are positioned as non-different to White workers, Chinese are nevertheless racialised rather than represented as people. As shown in Figure Thirteen, images of workers encompass diverse ages, gender, sizes and shapes but uniform whiteness. The only time Chinese and other non-Whites appear in the text, they are representative of their racial group, as shown in the bottom frame of Figure Thirteen (see page 74).

In a similar way to other texts in my sample, *Australia's Two Centuries* implicitly excludes Chinese from normative Australianness by siloing the discussion of Chinese miners (1977, 56-8) from the remainder of the chapter. As usual in this text, information is presented and students guided to form their own opinions. In this case, students are asked to consider to what extent racist attitudes motivated anti-Chinese sentiment (1977, 57-8). While not apologetic for White prejudice, anti-Chinese riots are omitted. These constructions intimate that although Australianness may be rebuked due to recognition of White racism, this critique does not taint the normative whiteness of the concept.

The Land They Found includes a section on Chinese miners subsequent to an extensive discussion of the gold rushes. As in other texts with a similar structure, while this initial discussion is putatively non-racialised in actuality it represents a solipsistic discourse of White miners' experiences. Normative whiteness is revealed by contrast, with this later section titled 'Chinese Miners' (1979, 184). The Chinese are framed as hardworking but also held accountable for White enmity via a discourse of difference:

Unfortunately, the Chinese made no attempt to mix with other miners. They did not try to learn English, or adopt European habits and customs. They isolated themselves and, by so doing, made themselves targets for criticism and hostility.

The Land They Found 1979, 184

This extract, which precedes commentary on anti-Chinese riots, frames the subsequent riots as an unfortunate result of putatively self-imposed segregation. Rather than hostility being attributed to White prejudice, it is constructed as a natural consequence of this segregation. Whites are exonerated by claiming that Chinese 'made themselves targets' by not conforming to White norms. This discourse of solipsism renders 'European habits and customs' as indisputably normative, dismissing any alternative ways of being. The Immigration Restriction

Act of 1901 is framed as a response to this rioting. While it is claimed that many Chinese returned to China, it is conceded that others remained, working as labourers, market gardeners, launderers and merchants (1979, 185). Nevertheless, Chinese are not framed as Australian, as demonstrated by their exclusion from this text's section on nationalism.

1980s

Their Ghosts May be Heard recycles standard gold rush tropes. While not being explicitly stated, 'diggers' refers to White miners. For example, the title of this section, 'Conflict: diggers and the Chinese' (1984, 184), excludes Chinese from being represented as diggers. Chinese are framed as arriving in menacing numbers, thereby positioning Australia as a White possession and justifying efforts by the colonial authorities to restrict entry. An exceptional feature of the second edition of this text is the inclusion of an extract from a petition Chinese miners presented to the Victorian Legislative Assembly in 1857 arguing against the entry tax (1994, 223). This is the only text in my sample to incorporate any representation of Chinese perspectives.

1990s

In contrast to the discourses of solipsism in other texts, *Voices from the Past* (1994, 131) differentiates between Chinese and 'other diggers', thereby incorporating Chinese within the category of digger. Moreover, rather than simply recycling the reasons 'Europeans felt threatened by the large numbers of Chinese', these reasons are critiqued and contested (1994, 131). This text also notes that, after the gold rushes, some Chinese remained, working as cooks, shopkeepers, market gardeners and businessmen (1994, 133). However, these traces of inclusivity are temporary. The next paragraph emphasises the large numbers of Chinese, recycling the trope of the self-evident threat these arrivals posed:

For a time there were twelve Chinese for every European miner [at the Palmer River goldfields in Queensland]. Later, in Darwin, the Chinese outnumbered the European population by seven to one. *Voices from the Past* 1994, 133

This extract precedes a cursory section on the White Australia Policy, thereby implicitly justifying this policy. Overall this text's sporadic attempts at inclusivity fail to expand the conceptualisation of Australianness, as indicated by the whiteness of its chapter on nationalism. The White perspective is tempered slightly however, by noting the impact of the gold rushes on Aborigines; the first text in my sample to do so:

Aborigines were forced from their traditional lands by the diggers. Many of their sacred sites were destroyed. Their traditional sources of food were also lost.

Voices from the Past 1994, 134

SOSE 3 (1998, 104) rebukes 'Europeans' for killing Chinese during the gold rushes, which stands in contrast to most texts' omission or minimisation of Chinese deaths. The intentional exclusion of Chinese from constructions of Australianness is noted:

The Europeans in Australian at the time had determined that, as a group, the Chinese would not be permitted to contribute their cultural characteristics to Australian society.

SOSE 3 1998, 104

While this extract may be interpreted as a critique of Chinese exclusion, it reinscribes White possession by failing to unsettle the right of 'Europeans in Australia' to determine national belonging. Moreover, the authors fail to recognise that the same critique could be applied to their constructions of Australianness in the subsequent chapter of the text.

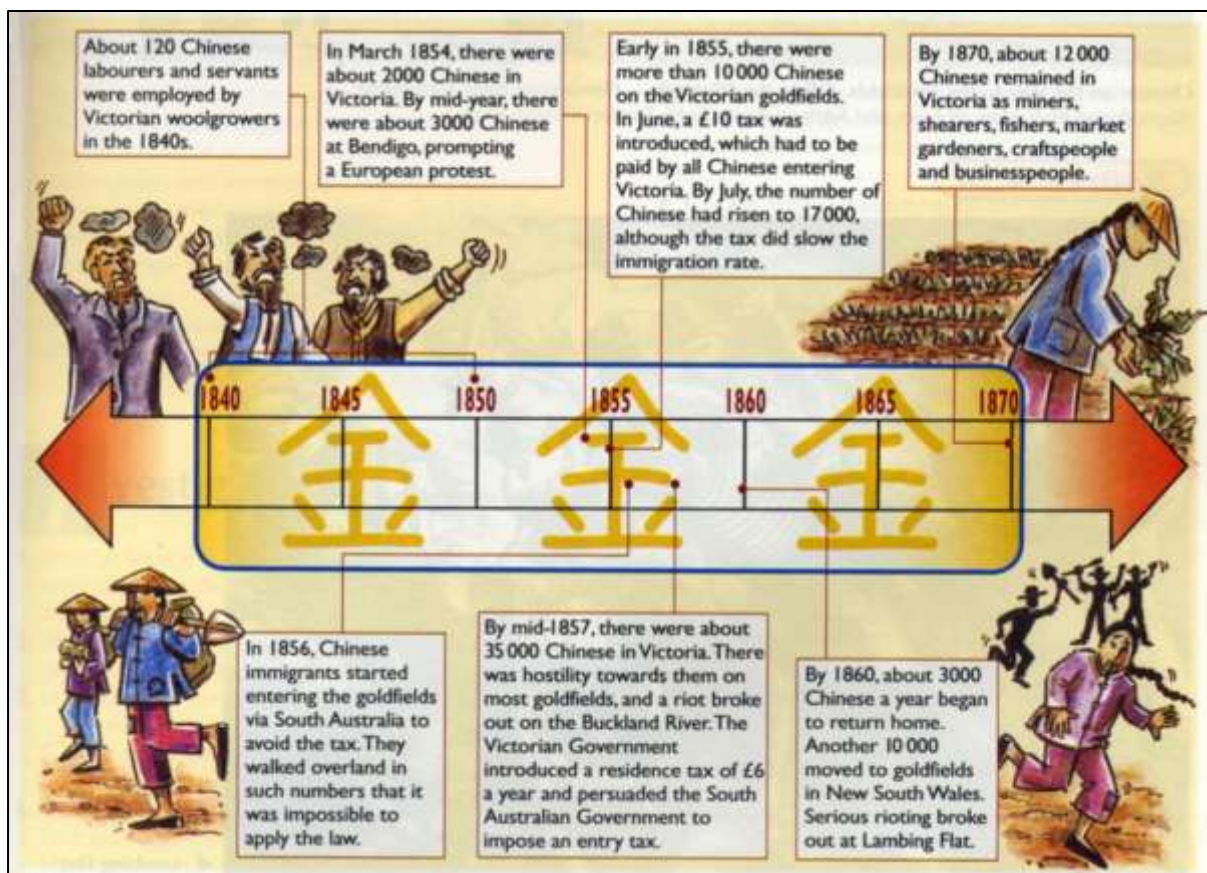


Figure 32: Timeline plotting the presence of Chinese people of the Victorian goldfields (SOSE 3 1998, 105)

The trope of excessive numbers of Chinese arrivals is reproduced (see Figure Thirty-Two). In contrast, an exercise at the end of the unit encourages students to view the situation from a Chinese perspective, by imagining Australian diggers joining a gold rush to China and receiving similar treatment to Chinese in Australia (1998, 107). While this exercise may generate tolerance in Whites by facilitating a better appreciation of Chinese experiences, it leaves the normativity of White Australianness undisturbed. Similarly, the power implicit in the choice to be tolerant is not critiqued (Hage 1998, 79). Additional exercises requiring students to differentiate between racial and economic reasons for anti-Chinese attitudes (1998, 107) function to minimise racism as a motivating factor by constructing an artificial distinction between the two elements. Whereas these constructions reaffirm whiteness, comments on the dispossession of Aborigines during the gold rush (similar to the extract from *Voices from the Past* above) disturb whiteness (1998, 108).

2000s

SOSE Alive History 2 holds Chinese accountable for White rioting via a discourse of difference:

Most immigrants from countries other than England worked well alongside the colonists. But the Chinese – the most different in terms of their dress, hairstyles and other customs – stirred up resentment and suspicion. At times these feelings erupted into ugly displays of racism [by Whites]. *SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 62

In this extract, Chinese difference is framed as a legitimate impetus for White violence. White cultural norms, although unstated, are positioned as self-evidently correct and the standard from which Chinese norms are assessed. In this context, Chinese difference is framed as an affront to normative whiteness to the extent of excusing White violence in response to Chinese not acting White. Conversely, the widespread famine in China in the 1840s is noted (2005, 62), contextualising the situation of Chinese miners who are humanised as hard-working family men:

The reality was that the Chinese miners (and others who worked as fishermen, vegetable growers and traders) were mostly hardworking, patient men, who just wanted to provide for their families in China. *SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 63

While this work ethic is also seen as a contributing factor in White resentment, in this case Chinese are not censured. Inconsistencies such as these evidence explicit

attempts to incorporate discourses of anti-racism while nevertheless recycling discourses which implicitly differentiate between 'them' and 'us'.

Complimentary portrayals of Australianness are not challenged by noting negative impacts of the gold rush, such as anti-Chinese sentiment prompting the development of the White Australia Policy (2005, 69) or links between the gold rush and Aboriginal dispossession. In the latter case, dispossession is explicitly linked to White prosperity: '[t]he more "white society" flourished, the more Indigenous people were dispossessed' (2005, 69). The quotation marks surrounding 'white society' indicate resistance to racialising whiteness. With the exception of the denial of murder during anti-Chinese rioting (see page 228), there are no discernible changes in the portrayal of the gold rush in *Humanities Alive 3*.

Humanities 3 attempts to interrupt constructions of Chinese as an homogenous, racialised group by specifying that the miners came from the Guangzhou region of southern China (2007, 44). Moreover, this text's section on businessman Quong Tart (2007, 45) positions Tart as an individual rather than simply a member of a racialised group; the only text in my sample to do so with reference to Chinese. The Chinese name for the Australian goldfields is noted – a cursory inclusion of Chinese perspectives (2007, 44). In contrast to the 'Alive' texts, Chinese are not held responsible for White resentment and suspicion. Gold field riots are mentioned but murder is omitted: 'The Chinese were insulted, brutally attacked and driven from the goldfield' (2007, 45). Once again however, these changes do not function to extend the category of Australianness.

Summary

In this section, I demonstrated that regardless of whether the narrative ignores, excuses or condemns White anti-Chinese violence, Chinese are positioned as other to diggers who are explicitly and implicitly constructed as White. Otherness is generated by siloing and discourses of non-White deficiency and difference. Australia is positioned as a White possession. White entitlement is reinscribed and supported by discourses of solipsism. Chapters on the gold rushes describe White experiences. Even demarcated sections on Chinese miners encompass White commentary about Chinese rather than Chinese perspectives, ensuring that White Australianness is affirmed rather than disturbed. Disruptive discourses of anti-racism are minimal, comprising brief constructions of non-White agency and individualisation. These discourses are shown in Chart Ten.

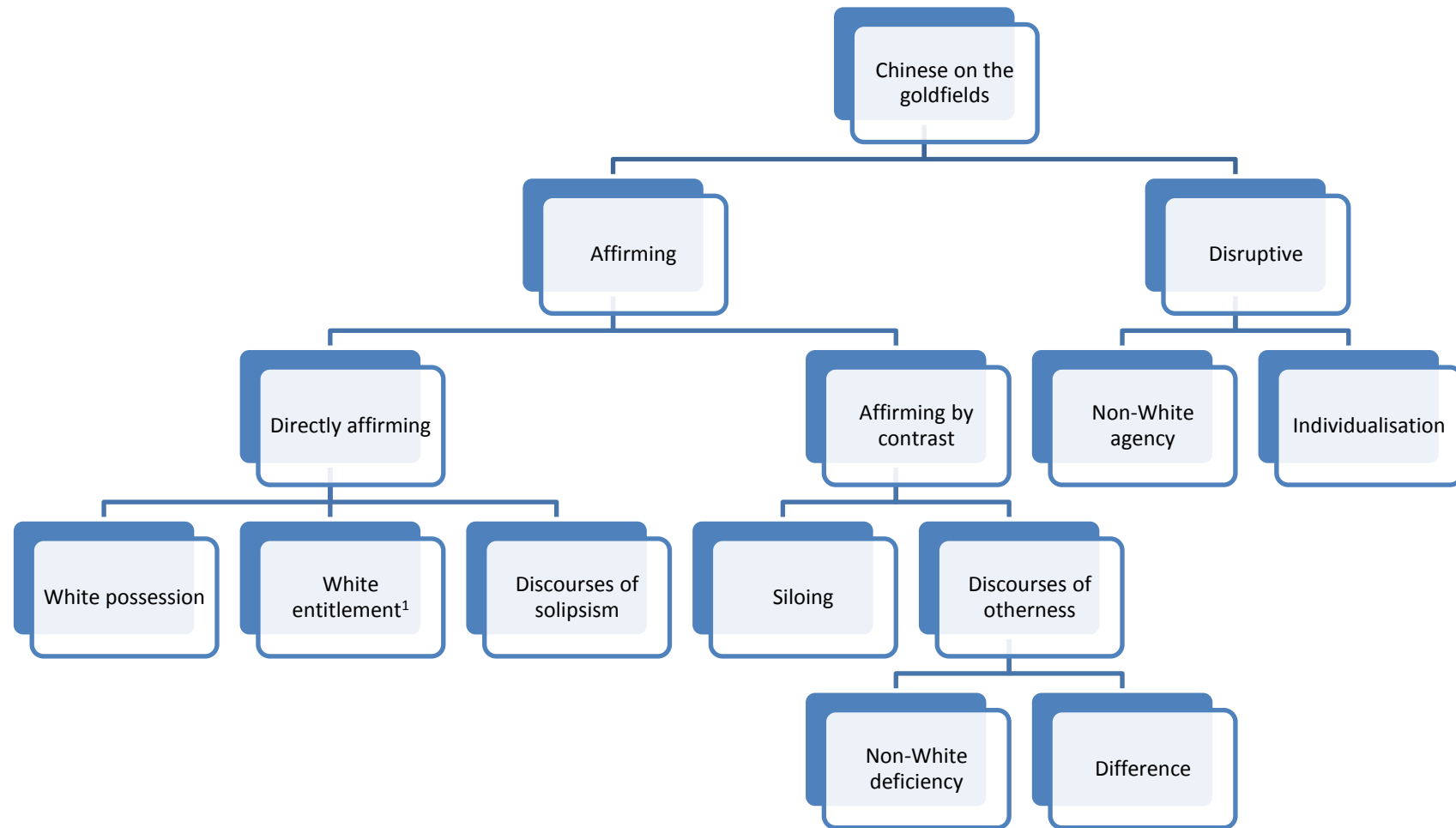


Chart 10: Narratives of Chinese during the gold rushes

1. White entitlement: discourses which privilege White needs to the exclusion of non-Whites

Federation & the White Australia Policy

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 (commonly known as the White Australia Policy) was the first substantial piece of legislation passed by the Commonwealth parliament (Aveling 2004, 60; Fitzgerald 2007, 2; Jupp 2007, 9; Tavan 2005, 7). This policy established the strict control over immigration that was perceived to be necessary to quarantine the nation from its immediate neighbours (Ang 1999, 199). By constructing Australia as White, the White Australia Policy discursively erases Aborigines and non-White immigrants. Many of the texts in my sample do not reference this policy explicitly. However, in sections on Chinese on the goldfields or federation these texts claim that the need for White Australians to unify to prevent non-White immigration or invasion was one impetus for federation. This is a discourse of White possession which reifies Australia as White. *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* is the only text in my sample to omit any reference to racially-based exclusion.

1950s

For *A Junior History* Chinese exclusion is as self-evident and uncontroversial as mail carriage:

The keeping out of Chinese labourers, the carriage of mails, the upkeep of coastal lighthouses and the control of the Murray River were also discussed [at inter-colonial conferences between 1863 and 1881]. *A Junior History* 1950, 103

Two reasons are given in justification of the White Australia Policy: firstly, to prevent a drop in wages in which ‘the white man would suffer’, and secondly, to avoid the difficulties faced in countries such as South Africa and the United States ‘where whites and blacks live side by side’ (1950, 115). According to the text, keeping Australia White is ‘the only satisfactory way’ to achieve these aims (1950, 115). These reasons openly privilege White interests, position Australia as a White possession and reaffirm authentic Australianness as White, as illustrated in Figure Thirty-Three. The Aboriginal threat to this White nation fantasy is managed by a discourse of disregard: ‘Our own aborigines hardly count. They are so few in number, keep to themselves and are fast dying out’ (1950, 115-116). Although the trope of Aboriginal self-extermination (Ryan 2010) was discredited by the 1940s (Reynolds 2001), it was accepted truth in 1934 when the first edition of this text was published. This trope is presented as a matter-of-fact statement that fails to demonstrate even token regret, let alone responsibility. Indeed, the passive construction ‘dying out’ positions Aborigines as responsible; ‘dying out’ is enacted by Aborigines rather than Whites.



Figure 33: untitled (*A Junior History* 1950, 115)

Out of the Mist also defends the White Australia Policy, using a ‘we’re not racist, but ...’ argument in an attempt to deny the racism inherent to the policy:

It is not that most Australians regard themselves as superior to coloured peoples but, whether it is good or bad, they value the Australian way of life. They value their British birth and heritage and wish to preserve it ... Yet, we support the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations, in whose ideals there is no distinction based on creed or colour. Here we have one of Australia’s problems. How can we support these ideals and yet keep our doors closed to the teeming millions who are hungry and lack the land required to feed them? This is Australia’s dilemma.

Out of the Mist, Book Four 1956, 251

This extract of White entitlement privileges White interests while also reinscribing a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Australianess is equated with Britishness, thereby positioning White Australianess as given, disregarding Aborigines. Although elsewhere in the series, Aborigines are recognised as ‘first real settlers’ of Australia (*Book Two* 1956, 14), this positioning is not extended to this section in *Book Four* on national belonging. Both the desire to retain Australia’s whiteness and White Australians’ perennial fear of invasion are constituted as indubitable, such that a restricted immigration policy becomes mandatory. From this perspective, adjusting immigration policy to meet international principles of non-discrimination is untenable, resulting in an irresolvable dilemma. The phrase ‘teeming millions who are hungry and lack the land required to feed themselves’ is a xenophobic discourse of deficiency which evokes and endorses the perennial White Australian fear of Asian invasion.

This section also includes a quote from the president of the Australian Natives' Association arguing for the White Australia Policy to be reframed in exclusively economic terms, omitting any references to race:

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 put into legal form the many protests against the admission of people considered likely to lower the living standard – a purely economic measure. Unfortunately the average Australian has come to look upon it as a racial matter and the outside world has done likewise through the unfortunate use of the word 'White'. Get rid of that offensive word, get out of the habit of talking about the 'White Australia Policy', and let our 'Immigration Policy' be implemented in a logical manner.

Out of the Mist, Book Four 1956, 251

Although framed as an 'opinion' on the White Australia Policy, its inclusion suggests the author endorses the sentiments presented. Indeed, defining the White Australia Policy in economic rather than racial terms presents a means to elude the 'dilemma' elaborated in the previous extract, thereby revalorising whiteness. It is interesting to note that the current race-neutral era in Australia fulfils this extract's admonition to '[g]et rid of that offensive word'.

1960s

Colony to Nation (1960, 147) notes that 'agreement on the question of how many foreign migrants should be allowed to enter Australia' was one impetus for federation. This text echoes *A Junior History's* justifications for the White Australia Policy, namely the threat to White wages and the potential for 'racial troubles' (1960, 160). These discourses affirm White entitlement and reinscribe Australia as a White possession, with authority to regulate non-White immigration.

Similar discourses are reproduced in *A Map History's* uncritical section on the White Australia Policy. The need for co-operation to prevent Chinese immigration is framed as indisputable (1963, 46). The history of non-White labour is given in an earlier map (1963, 43) titled 'White Australia'. Whereas the text accompanying this map refers to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, its title employs the act's common name. This is the only map in the book whose titled appears in quotation marks. It is unclear what the quotation marks indicate. Within the text, Chinese are framed as 'threaten[ing] to swamp the white population' with various immigration restriction acts positioned as legitimate responses to this threat as well as judicious

measures to prevent further rioting. The text's reference to 'unwanted immigrants' constructs White Australians' attitude to non-White immigration as unproblematic and self-evident. This map makes no reference to Aborigines, thereby avoiding disruption of the White nation fantasy (Hage 1998). Indeed, the 1978 edition fails to note that the White Australia Policy was rescinded in 1973.

Restricting 'Chinese and Kanaka labourers' (1969, 120) is noted briefly in *Landmarks'* section on federation, but not emphasised. The White Australia Policy is discussed in a later chapter on Australian attitudes. This placement positions mass opposition to non-White labour as instrumental in the development of this policy. This opposition is justified via a discourse of White entitlement: fear of lower wages and fear that 'the Australian "way of life" would be tainted' (1969, 169). Nevertheless, the racial basis of the White Australia Policy is critiqued, stating that 'opposition to the use of coloured labour ... was really based on the attitude that non-Europeans were inferior to the white races' (1969, 171). However, this concession does not disturb the construction of Australia as a White possession.

1970s

A Down Under Story frames federation as serving British and Australian capitalists' needs (1976, 23). The White Australia Policy is not mentioned. However, typical justifications for this policy are contested. For example, in contrast to maxim that employing non-Whites results in lower wages, *A Down Under Story* emphasises initiatives by Aborigines and non-White immigrants to improve their working conditions. While it is conceded that some non-White immigrants were willing to work for lower wages than Whites, the success of the Chinese Workers' Union in achieving a 50 hour week and holidays is highlighted (1976, 24). Similarly, while acknowledging that some Pacific Islanders were brought to work in the Queensland sugar fields through force, others are portrayed as coming voluntarily and organising to defend their rights (1976, 24). Aboriginal activism is illustrated with the example of the Gurindji strike (1976, 42).

The section on 'legislation and non-European immigrants' in *Australia's Two Centuries'* (1977, 112) chapter on federation is overtly linked to a previous chapter's section on 'Australians' racist attitudes'. In contrast, the following extract from Alfred Deakin's speech (in simplified language) before the Immigration Restriction Act was passed deploys a discourse of White entitlement to obscure the xenophobia underpinning the Act, similar to *Out of the Mist* (see page 238 above):

All that we need to say is that non-European people are different. Our civilization belongs to us, and we belong to it; we are bred in it, and it is bred in us. It fits us. These people have their own history, their own qualities and their forms of life and government. They are separated from us. The attitude of Australia should not upset other countries as long as people realize what it is based upon. We do not claim that we are superior. How can you compare one people with another?

Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 112

This extract also reinscribes Australia as a White possession. The portrayal of Australia as a White girl in Figure Thirty-Four constitutes Australianness as White.



Figure 34: One view of the future (*Australia's Two Centuries 1977, 100*)

In a later exercise, students hold a mock election with students acting as candidates requested to decide where they stand on various issues including 'White Australia'. Candidates and helpers produce a policy statement, advertising material and a speech reflecting their position on 'let[ting] different races into Australia or keep[ing] Australia "white" ... [or] let[ting] only a few non-white people in' (1977, 115). This exercise provides a forum for racially exclusive views to be legitimately expressed, with, arguably, no consideration of the impact of this exercise on non-White students.

Moreover, this exercise reifies White Australia, with Aborigines and other non-Whites discursively erased.

The Land They Found (1979, 193) links the White Australia Policy to anti-Chinese attitudes during the gold rushes. A discourse of White entitlement frames the desire to exclude 'Chinese and other "coloured" people ... to protect the jobs of Australians' as a major impetus for federation (1979, 196). In this extract, a distinction is made between Australians and 'coloured people', thereby constructing Australians as White. A later section on 'A White Australia' which frames the motivation for White Australia as racist does not disrupt this construction:

Australian settlers were in the main racist. They looked down upon the aborigines and Chinese miners as inferior and uncivilized ... The aborigines posed no real threat: indeed, they were fading from the scene.

The Land They Found 1979, 203

Racism is located in the past via a discourse of historical discontinuity. The terms 'Australian settlers' and 'they' are used to distinguish between nineteenth-century and contemporary Whites, suggesting past beliefs. However, even when positioned as past beliefs, their uncritically reproduction is likely to reinscribe them. It is unclear whether the authors believe Aborigines 'were fading from the scene' or were attempting to represent the dominant late nineteenth-century view. Either way, this trope normalises disregard. The text notes matter-of-factly that the Immigration Restriction Act 'effectively barred most non-Europeans' (1979, 204).

1980s

Australia This Century states that facilitating agreement on issues including 'people coming into Australia (immigrants)' (1982, 4) was one of five issues which advanced federation. A later section links the White Australia Policy to Australians' long-standing fear of Asian invasion (1982, 13). These examples evidence constructions of Australianness in opposition to Asianness.

Their Ghosts May be Heard (1984, 230) identifies restricting Asian immigrants as one of four ideas crucial to federation. This anti-Asian sentiment is illustrated in Figure Thirty-Five. A discourse of historical discontinuity locates this attitude in the past so it is not critiqued and White Australianness not disrupted. For example, a question accompanying this image asks '[w]hy were Australians in the 1880s so concerned

about Chinese people in Australia?’ (1984, 230). This section also includes a poem by Henry Lawson in which Australian-born Whites are called ‘Natives of the Land’ (1984, 229) which functions to discursively erase Aborigines.



Figure 35: An anti-Chinese cartoon published in an Australian magazine in 1888. The Chinese dragon is invading and destroying Australia (*Their Ghosts May be Heard* 1984, 231)



Figure 36: This cartoon was published in an Australian magazine in 1901. Explain what the cartoon means (*Was It Only Yesterday* 1983, 11)

Was It Only Yesterday also explains the White Australia Policy in terms of past beliefs:

When the Commonwealth of Australia was formed in 1901, more than ninety-eight out of every hundred people were white. It was a general wish that Australia remain a country of white people. Australians believed that theirs should be a country where British people lived according to British customs.

Was It Only Yesterday 1983, 10

In this extract, Australianness is explicitly linked with Britishness. Moreover, this link is framed in terms of what ‘Australians believed’, thereby reinscribing White Australianness. Once again past beliefs are not contested or related to current policies or practices. Instead, a discourse of historical discontinuity creates a discursive break between the past and the present, as illustrated by the caption for Figure Thirty-Six.

1990s

Voices From the Past (1994, 241) also links support for federation to anti-Asian sentiment, as illustrated in Figure Thirty-Seven. In this image, which is reproduced in *SOSE 3* (1998, 145), Australia is represented by a White youth surrounded by sea, from which the Asian man is able to reach Australia. The ANA slogan 'Australia for the Australians' positions Australians as White in opposition to Asianness. This text also frames the White Australia policy as a response to 'non-Europeans coming to Australia' following Chinese immigration during the gold rushes (1994, 133), thereby positioning 'non-Europeans' as inherently unacceptable.



**Figure 37: A cartoon from the Bulletin, 1894
(*Voices from the Past* 1994, 242)**

The White Australia Policy is not mentioned in *SOSE 3*'s (1998, 142) unit on federation. Nevertheless, Australians are positioned as British, English-speaking Christians who 'wanted to preserve their country as a place for white people'. This is a discourse of White entitlement which reifies White Australia. Although anti-Chinese sentiment is not mentioned, students are guided to analyse the Bulletin cartoons in Figures Twenty-Seven (see page 209) and Thirty-Seven in the context of federation. Henry Lawson's poem 'A song of the republic' is reproduced, in which Australia is framed as 'the Land that belongs to you' (1998, 145). Students are guided to analyse Lawson's ideas about a republic. However, his concept of White possession is not critiqued. *SOSE 4* (1998, 160) mentions the White Australia Policy only to note its repeal. Moreover, an end-of-unit activity directing students to conduct research into the White Australia Policy (1998, 161) is omitted from the text's second edition (2000). These strategies position the nation favourably.

Conversely, the White Australia Policy is linked to anti-Asian sentiment following the gold rushes (1998, 162).

2000s

The Jacaranda texts published this century have similar representations of Australianness in their units on federation, listing 'immigration concerns' as a key reason for federating in order to protect White jobs and wages (*SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 88; *Humanities Alive 3* 2006, 92; *Humanities 3* 2007, 68). In particular, the White Australia Policy is framed as response to Chinese on the goldfields (*SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 69; *Humanities Alive 3* 2006, 71; *Humanities 3* 2007, 55). The label 'immigration concerns' legitimises the xenophobia and White entitlement underlying these 'concerns'. *SOSE Alive History 2* and *Humanities Alive 3* have no further information on this topic. In contrast, *Humanities Alive 4* (2007, 92, 102) notes that the White Australia Policy restricted immigration by non-Whites until the 1970s. In addition, *Humanities 3* (2007, 78) has a new unit on 'Population, immigration and a "White Australia"' in which the intent to exclude non-White immigrants is noted. In this unit, the White Australia Policy is framed as crucial to the development of better working conditions within Australia, as employers were denied access to cheap labour. These constructions legitimise non-White exclusion, reaffirming White entitlement. *Humanities 4* (2008, 52) has a celebratory discourse, emphasising immigration 'from all areas of the world' followed the formal abolition of the White Australia Policy. Moreover, previous exclusion is minimised by emphasising the diversity of immigrants prior to this time.

Summary

There is a temporal pattern to representations of the White Australia Policy within my sample. The White Australia Policy is discussed extensively in earlier texts in my sample, but minimally in later ones. In early texts the desire for a White Australia is framed as incontrovertible, thereby rendering the need to restrict non-White immigration as self-evident. Australia is positioned as a White possession, with exclusive immigration policies justified by discourses of White entitlement. Discourses of deficiency, difference and disregard discursively erase Aborigines and non-White immigrants from this fantasised White nation while simultaneously positioning non-Whites as 'unAustralian'. Texts that mention Aborigines reproduce the myth of Aboriginal population decline to the point of annihilation. Similarly, the trope that Chinese miners returned to China following the gold rushes precludes

Chinese from consideration within these narratives. Although the White Australian Policy is constructed in opposition to non-White immigration, suggestions of racism are deflected by framing the policy as a necessary measure to protect 'our way of life'. In contrast, the xenophobia underlying this policy is conceded in texts from the late 1960s onwards. However, discourses of historical discontinuity are deployed to locate these attitudes in the past, rather than being related to present policies and attitudes. Moreover, neither denial, recognition nor critiques of xenophobia unsettle the myth of White Australianness or White possession.

Post-World War II immigration

This topic is absent from the texts in my sample whose coverage of history finishes with World War II or earlier. This includes texts published in the 1950s, *The Land They Found*, *Voices from the Past* and the first texts in two-volume history sets. Where it is included, post-World War II immigration is framed as a celebratory story of a tolerant (White) nation accepting all comers, with the White Australia Policy omitted or minimised. Whereas in the previous sections on non-White immigration discussed in this chapter the decision to relax the exclusions of the White Australia Policy is framed as due to fear of potential Asian invasion (the 'Yellow Peril'), in sections on post-War immigration this fear tends to be reframed as fear of communism or, even more innocently, as motivated by labour shortages. In contrast, Ang (1999, 195) asserts that this decision 'was driven explicitly by a desire to keep Australia white, and to keep Asia out'. In the post-World War II era, whiteness was attenuated slightly to incorporate southern and eastern Europeans (Stratton 1999, 164). However, there has been no corresponding expansion in conceptualisations of Australianness. Notwithstanding occasional explicit attempts to position non-White post-World War II immigrants as Australian, Australianness is consistently constituted as White, with non-White post-World War II immigrants framed as 'perpetual foreigners' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004, 32); 'national objects to be moved or removed according to a White national will' (Hage 1998, 18).

1960s

In its final chapter, *Australians Today*, *Colony to Nation* deploys a discourse of difference to contrast Australians with post-World War II immigrants – 'New Australians' (1960, 246) and 'foreign migrants' (1960, 247). Whereas 'New Australians' are overwhelmingly White – British, Polish, Italian, Dutch, Yugoslavian, Latvian and Russian (1960, 246), 'foreign migrants' are characterised by 'strange

language and customs' (1960, 247). A discourse of White entitlement frames the decision to admit non-British immigrants in order to 'populate or perish' as essential 'if the white race was to hold the land and maintain its present way of life' (1960, 245). This discourse, which frames Australia as a White possession, is not critiqued.

Social Studies for Secondary Schools frames post-World War II immigration as a response to the threat of Japanese invasion during the war, as well as perceived labour shortages. The phrases 'suitable migrants' and 'good citizens', while not elaborated, intimate criteria by which potential immigrants are appraised: 'The Commonwealth's migration scheme was put into effect in 1947. Free or "assisted" passages were given to suitable Europeans' (1963, 63). Rather than expanding Australian identity, these immigrants were expected to assimilate to White norms, as were Aborigines: 'Australia is pressing on with assimilation, because since World War II the number of coloured people in Australia has been increasing' (1963, 57). These discourses position Australia as a White possession, with immigrants valued depending on their usefulness to the nation.

A Map History distinguishes between two immigration eras: 1800-1940 (1963, 40) and post-World War II (1963, 41). The first map portrays the population in 1800 as negligible, suggesting that the Aboriginal population is disregarded. Chinese immigration is also obscured by omitting any explanation for the dramatic increase in population in the 1850s (As noted above, Chinese are discussed in a map on 'White Australia', see pages 226-227). In the second map, three types of post-war immigrants are identified – displaced persons, assisted immigrants and full-fare immigrants. The privileging of British over non-British immigrants in the latter two categories, with the government framed as willing to pay more for assisted immigrants from Britain, and the absence of limitations to the number of British full-fare immigrants, is not critiqued. In this text, Australianness is not only linked with whiteness, but also Britishness.

Landmarks (1969, 197) reproduces the maxim 'populate or perish' to explain changes to immigration policy. Although the 'populate or perish' mantra privileges immigration as a defensive measure, industry's need for labourers is also mentioned. The increase in non-British immigration is attributed to Australia being more attractive to immigrants, rather than the lifting of restrictions:

The main difference between current [in 1969] and earlier migration schemes is the fact that, for the first time in our history, Australia attracted large numbers of non-British people.

Landmarks 1969, 197-8

This extract is inaccurate and misleading. Firstly, it ignores non-British immigration, such as from China, during the gold rushes. Secondly, by framing Australia as attracting non-British immigrants 'for the first time in our history', it intimates that the limited number of non-British immigrants prior to this time was due to immigrant choice rather than Australian immigration policy, allowing the White Australia Policy to be obscured. In contrast, while acknowledging individual push-pull factors, Jupp (2007, 12) maintains that official programs have had the largest impact on immigration to Australia. A later extract reveals that even though entry restrictions were relaxed, Australian authorities continued to exercise control over admissions:

Migrants were specially selected for their skills and for their willingness to undertake heavy, unpleasant and isolated jobs such as work on the Snowy Mountains Scheme.

Landmarks 1969, 199

This extract demonstrates that the interests of the White nation remain central to Australian immigration policy regardless of post-World War II modifications.

1970s

A Down Under Story introduces its section on post-World War II immigration by noting the internment of German- and Italian-Australians during the war. Post-war changes to immigration policy are attributed to the needs of Australian capitalism and the preference given to western over southern Europeans noted (1976, 50). Moreover, the difficulties facing immigrants are emphasised. These constructions challenge the idea that relaxation in immigrant policy reflected racial progress. However, the continued exclusion of Asians is not mentioned.

Australia's Two Centuries (1977, 137) reproduces the trope that accepting European migrants was necessary for security and to 'help meet Australia's labour shortages'. These discourses of difference position non-White immigrants as objects who exist merely to serve the White nation. Australia's reluctance to accept non-British Europeans is illustrated by the then Minister for Information and Immigration,

Arthur Calwell's, hope that 'for every foreign migrant there will be ten people from the United Kingdom' (1977, 137). Discrimination faced by immigrants is noted.

Australia's Frontiers constructs post-World War II immigration as necessary for defence and to provide labour for industry (1979, 65), again positioning non-White immigrants as possessions of the White nation. Asian exclusion from the nineteenth-century until 1966 is mentioned.

1980s

Short sections on non-White immigration are dispersed throughout *Australia This Century*. An early section on 'New Australians' focuses on southern European immigration in the post-war period and the need for labour (1982, 88). Vietnamese refugees are mentioned in a later section, but positioned as 'arriving in Australia' rather than 'New Australians' (1982, 112-13). Overall, Asians are subjected to the White gaze, discussed extensively in sections on communism and the Cold War. This international focus is a feature of texts from the 1980s onwards which cover twentieth-century history. For example, in addition to chapters on the World Wars, *Australia This Century* has chapters on communism, the Cold War and Asian-Australian relations. The focus on Asia is justified by a discourse of difference in which the growth of Asia is constructed as of 'special concern to us' due to Asia's geographic proximity (1982, 106). This discourse intimates that 'we' are not Asian. Rather, the focus on communism and the Cold War positions Asians as a threat to 'us'.

Was It Only Yesterday also has an international focus. In addition to chapters on the World Wars, the chapter 'Fear and Suspicion' has extensive sections on the Cold War, Communist China, Vietnam and West Asia ('the Middle East'). Two later chapters focus on contemporary Australia, the first chapter covering dominant society and the second othered groups – Aborigines, (non-White) immigrants, White women and White workers. The extended section on 'Old and New Australians' in the latter chapter is introduced with Calwell's 1945 declaration that, 'Australia wants, and will welcome, new healthy citizens who are determined to become good Australians' (1983, 192). The assimilatory implication of Calwell's statement is not critiqued. Similarly, the phrase 'suitable migrants' is reproduced, which positions immigrants as objects in the service of the nation. As Figures Twenty to Twenty-Two (see pages 97-98) show, this text portrays the need for labour and the prevention of Asian invasion as a key reason for changes to post-World War II immigration policy.

Notwithstanding a reduction in dehumanisation of Asians in these images over time, they are located subsequent to the 'Fear and Suspicion' chapter which positions Asians as other and threatening. Moreover, on the same page, immigration from Asia is acknowledged (1983, 192). The authors seem oblivious to these contradictory constructions of Asians as invaders and immigrants.

A section on refugees and boat people frames accepting these people as indisputable 'because Australia has signed a United Nations agreement about refugees' (1983, 194). This statement was uncontroversial in the 1980s when Vietnamese were the chief group arriving by boat. Nevertheless, resistance to refugees is indicated by an image of White Australians espousing polarised opinions on refugees, with students asked to determine which opinion they agree with (1983, 195). The portrayal of Australians as White in this image highlights putative differences between Australians and (non-White) immigrants (see page 83). Australia is framed as a multicultural society with the positive impact of immigrants noted, again centring the interests of the White nation. Although the label 'immigrants' functions to exclude this group from Australianness, on other occasions, a more inclusive understanding of national identity is demonstrated. For example, the statement '[a]bout 3 million Australians – one in five – were born outside Australia' (1983, 197) broadens the category of Australian beyond those born domestically.

1990s

The international focus is extended in *SOSE 4*. Instead of one chapter on the period between the World Wars focused mainly on Australia, *SOSE 4* has two chapters: one on Australia and one on 'Germany, Japan and China between the wars'. As illustrated in Figure Thirty-Eight, Asians are constructed as other in these chapters. This image is reproduced in *SOSE Alive History 2* (2005, 135).

Constructions of Australianness as White and non-Whites as other throughout the two volume set are contradicted in the final chapter of *SOSE 4*, 'Australians all ... are we not?', which states that 'Australians come from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds' (1998, 152). This chapter is a celebratory story of multiculturalism (1998, 160), evidencing Gunew's (1994, 22) critique of Australian multiculturalism as 'a celebration of costumes, customs and cooking'. Denying national self-interest as a motivating factor, post-war immigration is framed as a compassionate response to people facing hardship following World War II (1998, 160).



Figure 38: A Chinese woman whose feet had been bound (SOSE 4 1998, 66)

As its title indicates, this chapter is an explicit attempt to incorporate non-White others into the category of Australian. Nevertheless, White Australianness is reinforced. The irony is that only groups who are othered and therefore perceived as needing to be re-framed as Australian are included in this chapter. For example, units on Aborigines (see page 215) and Chinese (1998, 162-3), Italian (1998, 164-5) and Vietnamese (1998, 166-7) immigrants are included but none on White immigrants. Moreover, Australia is re-affirmed as a White possession with non-Whites allowed entry at White discretion. Notwithstanding their framing as ‘China-, Italy- and Vietnam-born Australians’, these groups are constructed as ‘perpetual foreigners’ (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004, 32). In addition to earlier constructions of Australianness as White and non-Whites as other, a serious flaw in achieving the apparent aim of this chapter is its restriction of the narrative to immigrants, with no discussion of Australian-born people of visible Chinese, Italian, Vietnamese or other non-White heritage. This functions to reinforce ideas of White normativity and non-White foreignness. Moreover, these groups are positioned in a separate chapter (and book) to the construction of national identity in *SOSE 3*, which augments their implicit exclusion from conceptualisations of Australianness.

As illustrated in Figure Thirty-Nine, the second edition of this text continues to portray immigrants as a threat to Whites. This image’s accompanying text frames the threat of immigration in the race-neutral language of environmental limits. While the

‘community debate about the future and benefits of multiculturalism’ (2000, 114) is accentuated, the tone is not as alarmist as suggested by Figure Thirty-Nine which depicts a tsunami of black bodies threatening to swamp vulnerable European nations. Nevertheless, this image is not critiqued.

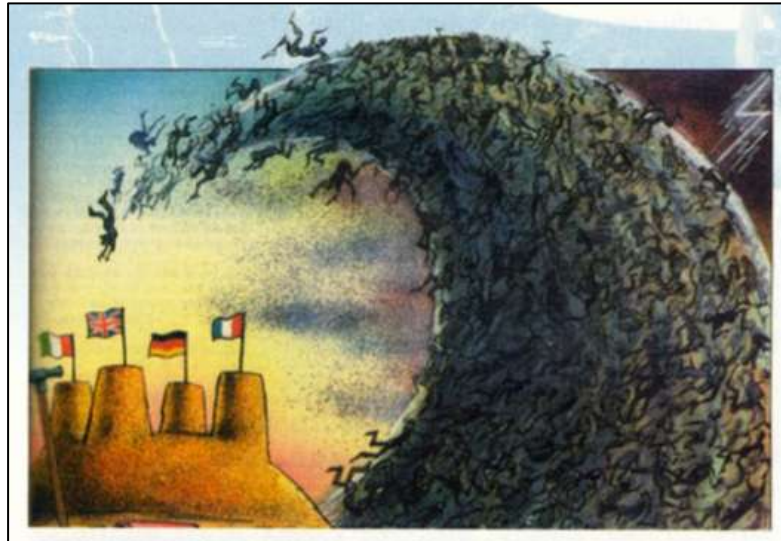


Figure 39: This 1990s cartoon graphically illustrates the impact of economic ruin, war and population growth (SOSE 4, Second Edition 2000, 114)

2000s

SOSE Alive History 2 covers post-war immigration obliquely via a fictitious news article set in 1949. As with discourses of historical discontinuity, this article creates a discursive break between ‘then’ and ‘now’. Increased immigration is constructed as necessary in order to ‘defend our Australian homeland, build its prosperity and keep it safe for our descendants’ (2005, 172-3). This discourse of White entitlement follows sections positioning Chinese and Japanese as other. These arguments reinscribe rather than broaden White Australianness. White solipsism is evident in an advertisement accompanying the news article in which it is stated that ‘War and its devastation are largely unknown in this country’ (2005, 172). This statement not only erases the experiences of Aboriginal and White soldiers who participated in various wars overseas, it also denies the devastating impact of frontier war for Aborigines.

Asians were usually not admitted as immigrants to Australia until the late 1960s when the White Australia Policy was modified to ignore race, colour and creed (Jupp 2007, 12). Consequently, Asian immigration is excluded in sections on immigration in the immediate post-war period. Whereas texts published in the 1980s and 1990s (see above) covered immigration from Vietnam and China, from the 2000s

this topic focuses on refugees from Western Asia arriving by boat. For example, *SOSE Alive History 2*'s unit 'Australia – a safe haven?' covers the Tampa incident (see page 13). This unit begins by stating that '[s]ince World War II, Australia has offered a safe haven to over 600,000 displaced persons through humanitarian programs' (2005, 186). This statement erases the discriminatory nature of the White Australia Policy, positioning Australia as a responsible global citizen. The Tampa incident is discussed in the context of Australia's membership of the United Nations and as a signatory to the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (2005, 186). Then Prime Minister Howard's views are contrasted with those of '[m]any Australians' (2005, 186) and human rights lawyer Julian Burnside (2005, 187). While this structure presents a mild challenge to Howard's views, overall these discourses affirm White possession, with opinions from Whites on either side of the current asylum seeker debate presented. This is an example of 'governmental belonging' (Hage 1998, 46) whereby Whites affirm their/our sense of national belonging by commenting on national policy. Although this section encourages Whites to grant asylum to refugees, it does not critique White possession or unsettle Whites' power to decide. This section also fails to contextualise boat arrivals within the broader framework of total immigration levels, which could potentially defuse this issue.

In many ways, units in *Humanities Alive 3* and *4* are exact duplicates of those in *SOSE Alive History 2*. However in comparison to *SOSE Alive History 2*, *Humanities Alive 4*'s coverage of post-war immigration is altered and a new unit on multiculturalism added. In a unit on post-war immigration, immigrants are constructed as 'play[ing] a major role in shaping the modern face of the nation' (2007, 92) and crucial for industrial expansion and defence against communism. Conversely, this unit also frames immigrants as 'flooding' into Australia in the 1940s and 1950s (2007, 92), suggesting threat to the White nation. The term 'flood' is also used to describe the influx of immigrants from Asia in the 1970s (2007, 93). Conflict between the need for immigrants and the restrictions of the White Australia Policy are noted: 'the government insisted on restricting immigration to the "right" sort of people' (2007, 92). Further information about the 'right' sort of people is given in the next paragraph which explains how a dictation test was used to refuse 'people Australia did not want – including people whose skin colour was not white' (2007, 92). Once again, a discourse of historical discontinuity locates this attitude in the past. A later unit on multiculturalism positions Australia as a 'nation of immigrants', temporarily disrupting previous constructions of Australia as a White nation.

Whereas in the first chapter Aborigines are tentatively framed as immigrants, on this occasion immigrants are distinguished from Aborigines:

The Indigenous people have lived here for tens of thousands of years, but most Australians (or their forebears) crossed the world to get here – first from Britain, then, particularly following World War II, from Europe, and later from all parts of the globe. *Humanities Alive 4* 2007, 102

The attempt to position all non-Indigenous immigrants equally not only contradicts constructions in previous chapters but also in subsequent occasions in this chapter, as in the following example in which Australians are also distinguished from those of ‘different cultural backgrounds’: ‘[u]nder our multicultural policy, Australians are expected to be tolerant, understanding and welcoming of people with different cultural backgrounds’ (2007, 103). While advocating acceptance of diversity, this extract privileges Australians relative to those who are framed as different to the unmarked White Australian norm. Difference in this regard means non-White, while ‘Australians’ are positioned as White. The power relations implicit in the choice to be tolerant (Hage 1998, 79) are not critiqued. This functions to affirm White normativity. Difference is also constructed in opposition to an unstated White norm in the following extract: ‘[f]anned by terrorist threats and attacks overseas, fear and distrust of people who are different is common in some parts of Australian society’ (2007, 103).

In order to contrast it with the White Australia era, current immigration policy is framed as ‘selective ... not discriminatory’ (2007, 102). Similarly, in contrast to the assimilatory demands of previous decades, the current era is positioned as one of no demands except respect for ‘our laws’:

Migrants today are required to respect our laws and invited to integrate into the Australian community, while being encouraged to value and maintain the traditions and customs of their country of origin. *Humanities Alive 4* 2007, 102

This is a discourse of benevolence which positions the White nation as inclusive while simultaneously reinscribing difference. While seemingly inclusive and race-neutral, ‘our laws’ positions Australia as a White possession. Moreover, the fact that White Australians continue to determine behavioural expectations for immigrants, as illustrated in changes to these expectations (see *Humanities 4* below), is not critiqued.

Humanities 4's three units on immigration are dispersed throughout the text. The first unit is located in the chapter 'Communism, Capitalism and the Cold War'. The first sentence of this unit justifies this placement: 'World War II and the events of the Cold War era had a substantial impact on Australia's immigration policies and on Australia's cultural diversity' (2008, 52). This placement obscures anti-Asian changes to post-war immigration policy by substituting fear of communism for the 'Yellow Peril' as the motivation to 'populate or perish'. In the following extract, industrial growth is conflated with defence to further erase the xenophobia underpinning the desire for population growth:

In 1945, the Australian federal government realised that population growth was essential to provide the workforce needed for the nation's industrial growth so that it would be less vulnerable to future threats of invasion.

Humanities 4 2008, 52

Various waves of immigration are summarised from the immediate post-war era to the arrival of Indochinese refugees in the 1970s and 1980s.

Multiculturalism is also reframed, from 'encouraging respect for and appreciation of the diverse cultures within Australia' to 'a greater emphasis on Australians of all cultural backgrounds identifying and supporting the nation's key values' (2008, 53). This is a significant shift in how multiculturalism is portrayed: from an egalitarian alliance of diverse cultures to White cultural dominance. This change in textbook portrayals echoes the reconfiguration of multiculturalism during the Howard era (see page 11). Whereas the 'diverse cultures within Australia' in the extract above are non-White, the 'nation's key values' are White. Although Australia's 'key values' are in fact universal values, once *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* are translated into Australian dialect as freedom, egalitarianism and mateship, these values are deemed to be attributes of Whites (Fitzgerald 2007, 234). Demands to support the nation's 'key values' as in the extract above are therefore directed exclusively at non-Whites.

A second unit 'Australian identity after World War II' is located in a chapter on 'Changing Culture and Technology'. As with the first unit, the need to 'populate or perish' due to vulnerability to attack is noted. Similarly, this unit also finishes with a section on multiculturalism, again stating that immigrants are expected to express 'a commitment to the values and aspirations of the broader Australian community' (2008, 91). The next sentence, the last in this unit, asserts that '[e]thnic identity had

become a part of what it was to be an Australian' (2008, 91), followed by an image of Chinese New Year celebrations. While the final sentence frames Australian identity as inclusive, the previous sentence clarifies the limits to this inclusivity. This interpretation supports Haggis and Schech's (1999, 47) contention that Whites manage multicultural diversity 'in a way which [does] not undermine or challenge the apparent coherence of dominant whitenesses'. The third unit, on current arrivals and the Tampa incident, has been relocated to a geography chapter titled 'People on the Move'.

Summary

In this section on post-World War II immigration I demonstrated that discourses of White benevolence and historical discontinuity are deployed to frame Australia as a tolerant and inclusive nation, with the discriminatory nature of the White Australia Policy relegated to a past era. By positioning tolerance as a virtue, the relations of power inherent to tolerance are obscured. Similarly, the 'Yellow Peril' is reframed as defence and minimised by emphasising alternative impetuses to immigration, such as fear of communism and need for labour. The contrived nature of explicit attempts to position non-Whites as Australian is evident in contradictions to this positioning in these units as well as in other chapters in these texts. For example, discourses of White possession and entitlement construct the Australian nation as White, while discourses of difference frame Asians, in particular, as other and potential invaders. Overall, narratives of post-war immigration position immigrants as commodities, imported to serve Australia's needs who remain 'perpetual foreigners' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilcopoulous 2004, 32).

Table Eleven summarises the dominant tropes of non-White immigration from the latter three topics discussed in this chapter – Chinese on the goldfields in the nineteenth century, federation and the White Australia Policy and post-World War II immigration. As shown in the third column, Chinese immigration during the gold rushes is framed as excessive, thereby provoking White hostility. These constructions establish Australia as a White nation in which racially exclusive policy is a judicious measure to ensure harmony. These tropes are reinscribed in narratives of federation (column four) and the White Australia Policy (column five) which are framed as inspired by defence against Asian invasion, amongst other reasons. The final column summarises reasons for post-World War II immigration. In these narratives, the 'populate or perish' maxim is evoked to reiterate the need for defence. The xenophobia of these constructions is partially offset by also emphasising the

need for labour. Although the White Australia Policy was relaxed at this time to allow migration from southern Europe, the impetus for this relaxation was, again, defence against potential Asian invasion, supporting Ang's contention that White Australian nationhood is largely formed in opposition to Asia. A striking feature of Table Eleven is the absence of change over time. Notwithstanding occasional exceptions, non-White immigrants continue to be positioned as other to White Australianness even in the most recent texts in my sample.

Table 11: Dominant immigration tropes. The final three columns show reasons given for each event

Decade	Title	Chinese during gold rushes	Federation	White Australia Policy	Post-WWII
1950s	A Junior History	Excessive	Xenophobia	Defended	Absent
	Out of the Mist	Excessive	Xenophobia	Dilemma	Absent
1960s	Colony to Nation	Hard working	Xenophobia	Prevent rioting	Xenophobia Labour
	Social Studies for Secondary Schools	Minimal	Absent	Absent	Xenophobia Labour
	A Map History	Excessive	Xenophobia	Prevent rioting	None
	Landmarks	Problem for Whites	Minimal	Racist	Xenophobia Labour
1970s	A Down Under Story	Exploited	Suited capitalists	Contests reasons	Suited capitalists
	Australia's Two Centuries	Excessive		Racism critiqued & denied	Xenophobia Labour
	Australia's Frontiers	Absent	Oblique nod to xenophobia	Not named	Xenophobia Labour
	The Land They Found	Provoked hostility	Xenophobia	Prevent rioting Racist	Absent
1980s	Australia This Cent		Xenophobia	Impartial	Labour
	Coupe & Andrews *	Excessive	Xenophobia	Past	Xenophobia Labour
1990s	Voices from the Past	Excessive Racism critiqued	Xenophobia	Xenophobia	Absent
	SOSE 3/4	Excessive Racism critiqued	Oblique nod to xenophobia	Xenophobia	Compassion
2000s	SOSE Alive History 2	Hard working Provoked hostility	Xenophobia	Xenophobia	Xenophobia Labour
	Humanities Alive 3/4	Hard working Provoked hostility	Xenophobia	Exclusionary	Xenophobia Labour
	Humanities 3	Excessive	Xenophobia	Justified	Xenophobia Labour

*Coupe & Andrews are the authors of the two-book set *Their Ghosts May be Heard* and *Was It Only Yesterday*

Conclusion

According to Hage (1998), Whites are made to feel confident, comfortable and at home in 'their' nation, while non-Whites are made to feel uncomfortable and alienated. As Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, 402) state, whiteness is linked with possession of the nation while 'the brownness of the original occupiers and [some] immigrants is suppressed'. This is evident in constructions of Australianness in Australian history texts. Not until the current century have history texts tentatively attempted to broaden the conceptualisation of national identity to incorporate non-Whites. While token recognition of Aborigines has been appended to the standard story of White national identity, non-White immigrants are excluded from these sections. For the most part, sections on non-White immigration also fail to disrupt conceptualisations of White Australianness. For example, segments on Chinese immigration during the gold rushes position Australianness in opposition to Asianness. This framing is also evident in coverage of the impetus to federate and the White Australia Policy. In both cases, White Australia is depicted as uniting against Asians. Even the topic of post-World War II immigration, in which whiteness was expanded to incorporate southern and eastern Europeans, distinguishes between 'New Australians' or immigrants, and (White) Australians via a discourse of difference. This discourse positions immigrants as non-White and 'perpetual foreigners' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004, 32). Although whiteness was expanded in the post-World War II era, I contend that Australianness was not. Apart from occasional exceptions, Aborigines and non-White immigrants are either absent or positioned as other to Australianness in textbooks, rather than as members of the nation. Occasional exceptions do not disrupt predominant constructions of White Australianness. Both explicitly and implicitly, the nation is constructed as a White possession, with White interests privileged. However, texts from the 1980s onwards downplay the stark reality of Australia's racial exclusivity, deploying multicultural policy to position the nation as benevolently accepting of diversity. White tolerance of non-Whites is inherently problematic due to its positioning of Whites at the centre of the nation and non-Whites at the periphery. Nevertheless, it is preferable to Howard-era changes to the conceptualisation of multiculturalism in the most recent texts in my sample in which tolerance for diverse cultures is replaced by the explicit privileging of the (White) nation's cultural values.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

This thesis posed the following questions:

- How do the visibility and substantive nature of whiteness and otherness in Australian social science textbooks change over time?
- What is the role of ignorance as absence, White solipsism and White exceptionalism in these changing constructions?

In response to the first question, my research shows that representations of both whiteness and otherness transition from explicit to implicit constructions over the period 1950-2010. Whiteness changes from being explicit to 'invisible', while constructions of otherness are reproduced less overtly. Regarding substantive nature, whiteness shifts from being a symbol of superiority to one of normality. While non-Whites continue to be positioned as other to normative whiteness, representations of otherness transition from explicit symbols of deficiency to implicit symbols of unranked difference. These changes to the substantive nature of whiteness and otherness do not affect the positioning of either: whiteness remains positioned at the centre of the polity and otherness at the periphery.

In response to the second question, ignorance performs a crucial role in these changes. Over time ignorance about non-Whites decreases while ignorance of whiteness increases. The absence of information regarding non-Whites exhibited in earlier texts is remedied over the period of my research sample. However, the new information presented tends to be siloed in sections about racialised others. In core (White) topics non-Whites remain absent so that White solipsism with its attendant ignorance of non-White perspectives is reproduced. Moreover, the standard narrative of White development remains largely undisturbed. Given the partial inclusion of material on non-Whites however, this solipsism is less obvious, aiding its normalisation. In contrast to the reduction of ignorance as absence regarding non-Whites, absence of information about racialised aspects of society, in particular the unmarked status of whiteness, is a new feature in later texts in my sample. This absence is central to the current manifestation of White ignorance.

In a similar way to ignorance as absence and White solipsism, ignorance as White exceptionalism became less overt over the research period. Discourses of White exceptionalism were markedly reduced over the time period of my sample, with a decrease in both effusive accounts of Whites and derisory accounts of non-Whites,

complemented by the omission of topics such as the White 'discovery' and 'exploration' of the continent. Nevertheless, these discourses were replaced by discourses of White benevolence which revalorise whiteness, albeit in a less candid manner, thereby facilitating its reinscription. These findings are elaborated below.

Visibility of whiteness

My research covers both the White Australia era in which whiteness was openly stated and the multicultural era in which whiteness became unmarked. The texts in my sample mimic this socio-cultural shift. For example, texts from the multicultural era avoid racial language. The term race is used repeatedly in 1950s texts, rarely in those from the 1960s-1980s and then omitted from the 1990s onwards. For instance, whereas the first edition of *A Map History* (1963, 39) states that '[t]he aborigines belong to the Australoid race', in the third edition (1979, 41) this clause has been edited to read '[t]he Aborigines are described as Australoids'. While just as meaningless, the latter claim eschews the word race. Given that biological theories of race were rejected in the immediate post-World War II era (Sundquist 2008, 252; White 1981, 157), continued references to race up until the 1990s is surprising. While the term persists however, its use in post-1950s texts is substantially reduced. Whereas the 1950s text *Out of the Mist, Book One* mentions race almost 50 times, many texts from the 1970s and 1980s use the term only once (*Australia's Frontiers* 1979, 6; *The Land They Found* 1979, 3; *Was it Only Yesterday* 1983, 184; *Their Ghosts May be Heard* 1984, 155). The dramatic reduction in the use of the word race indicates an explicit attempt at avoidance. Indeed, texts from the 1990s onward not only omit the word race altogether, but contest previous constructions of Aborigines as a race. Although racialised as 'Aborigines' overall, these texts also frame Aborigines as comprised of distinct cultural and language groups (*SOSE 3* 1998, 8; *SOSE Alive History 2* 2005, 5; *Humanities Alive 3* 2006, 3). In contrast, non-Aboriginal non-Whites continue to be framed in racial terms.

Coinciding with the erasure of the word race in texts, Whites are de-racialised by replacing the term White with European. This de-racialisation functions to reduce the visibility of whiteness as a racial category. With the exception of *Australia's Frontiers*, the texts in my sample up to and including the 1980s use the term White to signify the early British colonists, while those from the 1990s onwards favour the term European. In this context, the term European is inaccurate (Jupp 2007, 4). However, it has the advantage of appearing race-neutral and inclusive; a 'weasel word' (Watson 2004) operating as a proxy for White. In conjunction with the

continuing racialisation of non-Whites, de-racialising Whites by labelling them/us as European implicitly positions whiteness as normative. As Dyer (1997, 1) states, '[a]s long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples ... [Whites] function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are just people'.

Visibility of otherness

Although non-Whites continue to be positioned as other to White Australianness, evocations of difference in these constructions are less explicit, and therefore less visible, over time. As demonstrated in the modifications to Figures Twenty-Two (see pages 97-98), visual representations of Asians shift from derisive caricatures to humanising portrayals of people not dissimilar to Whites. Aside from occasional exceptions however, implicit constructions of otherness remain. For example, the text accompanying Figures Twenty-Two distinguishes between people and potential invaders, implicitly excluding Asians from the categories 'people' and 'Australian'. Similarly, units on the gold rushes and the White Australia Policy create two different categories of people: White/European and Chinese. This positioning reifies Australia as a White nation while excluding Chinese from national belonging. Although portrayed less visibly, otherness is reproduced. On occasions however, non-White post-World War II immigrants are explicitly framed as Australian. This explicit framing renders predominant implicit constructions of people of non-White immigrant heritage as 'perpetual foreigners' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilcopoulous 2004, 32) in the White nation less obvious, shielding these implicit constructions from critique.

Regarding the visibility of Aboriginal otherness, over the period of my research sample there is a reduction in discourses of otherness in narratives of Aboriginality. Discourses of otherness create the distinction between 'us' and 'them' that they appear to merely describe. For example, discourses of paternalism position non-Whites as objects of national concern, disregarded as readers of the texts. The gradual reduction in discourses of otherness tempers constructions of essential difference between the White observer and the Aboriginal other. Essential difference is also challenged by refusal to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' through pronoun use. For example, whereas earlier texts consistently differentiated between 'they/them/their' and 'we/us/our', by the 1970s these constructions of difference were markedly reduced. Constructions of otherness are also challenged in some post-1970s texts via discourses of anti-racism. This development is especially marked

in texts published in the 2000s. Nevertheless, as elaborated below, implicit constructions of inherent difference between Aborigines and Whites remain.

Substantive nature of whiteness

The transition of whiteness from marked to unmarked enabled a shift in the substantive nature of whiteness – from a symbol of superiority to one of normality. As a symbol of superiority, whiteness in textbooks is signalled by discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency in which the narrative is distorted by elevating Whites while belittling non-Whites. Whites are artificially promoted by partisan portrayals in which the presence and contributions of non-Whites is omitted or minimised. For example, the central role of Aborigines and non-White immigrants in each and every stage of White expansion is obscured, with the credit being accorded to Whites instead. If included in these portrayals, non-Whites are objectified by the White gaze and framed as deficient. Over the period of my sample, these discourses are tempered. There is a reduction in constructions of both White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency, with a concomitant increase in relatively respectful portrayals of non-Whites. However, the increased representation of non-Whites in later texts is also offset by siloing these accounts which functions to reinscribe otherness, albeit more subtly. Moreover, as demonstrated by my content analysis of textbook images, Whites continue to be positioned as the main actors in Australian history. Notwithstanding some improvement over the period of my research sample, White inundation persists: affirming images of Whites predominate, with relatively fewer and less favourable images of non-Whites.

The shift in whiteness from a symbol of superiority to one of normality in textbooks is uneven, incomplete and variable between texts with no definitive distinction between eras. Nevertheless, there are various indications of the shift to normality. For example, discourses of White benevolence and historical discontinuity are resurrected in narratives of frontier violence and non-White immigration, supplanting discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency to some extent. Discourses of White benevolence and historical discontinuity enhance normativity through subtle portrayals of both whiteness and otherness. Discourses of White benevolence redeem whiteness through selective accounts which emphasise White goodwill while minimising depictions of White deficiency. Although less blatant than discourses of White exceptionalism, these distorted accounts continue to position Whites as virtuous. In a similar way to discourses of White exceptionalism, discourses of White benevolence also shift the focus of the

narrative from non-Whites to Whites. In topics such as frontier violence and non-White immigration, non-White experiences are eclipsed by portrayals of White valour. These constructions are supported by discourses of historical discontinuity which create a discursive break between the past and the present. By relegating injustice to the past, contemporary whiteness is revalorised. In other words, changes to the substantive nature of whiteness do not affect its position at the centre of the polity. Indeed, discourses of White benevolence and historical discontinuity reproduce 'conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority' (Ansley 1997, 592), a key feature of whiteness.

In contrast to the changes to the preceding discourses, discourses of White possession, White entitlement and non-White difference endure in later texts. These discourses enhance White normativity by positioning Australia as a White nation with non-Whites admitted at the discretion of Whites. Discourses of White possession are relatively consistent throughout my research sample, not only in narratives of White 'discovery' and 'exploration', but also national identity (White nationhood) and non-White immigration. In the latter topic, discourses of White benevolence positions Whites as tolerant and inclusive. These discourses implicitly frame the nation as a White possession, with the managerial attitude of Whites towards non-White immigrants normalising the position of Whites at the centre of the nation, while re-consigning non-Whites to the margins. Normalisation ensures the powerful positioning of Whites is not disrupted or critiqued. White possession is inexorably linked with White entitlement, another central feature of whiteness (Ansley 1997, 592). Positioning the nation as a White possession presupposes that Whites should have privileged access to land and other resources, economic prosperity and national belonging. These discourses again position whiteness as normative which simultaneously positions non-Whites as other.

In some ways, the shift from discourses of superiority to discourses of normality over the period of my research sample has improved the resultant narratives of Australian history. In particular, reductions in discourses of White exceptionalism and non-White deficiency are important and commendable improvements at least in terms of producing historically accurate representations. However, further work needs to be done; the continuation of discourses of White benevolence, White possession and White entitlement in contemporary textbooks reinscribes and revalorises whiteness. These discourses evidence the reproduction of the sentiments of White superiority when these sentiments are no longer explicitly stated, thereby

reinscribing whiteness while simultaneously insulating it from critique as the problem disappears from view. Further progress is dependent on contesting these discourses so that White normativity can be interrupted, dislodging Whites from their/our powerful yet unmarked position at the centre of the polity.

Substantive nature of otherness

Overall, non-Whites continue to be positioned as other to normative Australianness throughout the research period. However, the substantive nature of non-White otherness shifts from explicit constructions of deficiency to implicit constructions of unranked difference. The earlier texts in my sample position non-Whites as not only different but deficient in comparison to Whites. In narratives of Aboriginality, discourses of civilisation and savagery are deployed to frame Aborigines as inferior to Whites. Similarly, Chinese are framed as inherently deficient in comparison to Whites in narratives of the gold rushes and Federation. As discourses of non-White deficiency are reproduced more subtly over the research period, difference is evoked less explicitly and without the element of derision typical of earlier texts. These changes function to redeem whiteness by evocations of racial progress. Moreover, beginning in the 1970s and escalating from the 1990s onwards, discourses of anti-racism contest discourses of non-White deficiency. For example, Chinese are humanised by being depicted as hard workers who simply wanted to provide for their families. Nevertheless, the shift to relatively respectful portrayals of non-Whites has minimal impact on the positioning of non-Whites as other to normative whiteness. For example, discourses of White possession in the context of non-White immigration implicitly position non-White immigrants at the periphery of the White nation. In a similar way to whiteness, changes to the substantive nature of otherness do not affect its peripheral positioning.

To a limited extent in more recent texts, Australianness is not always framed as synonymous with whiteness. For example, reductions in discourses of non-White deficiency are accompanied by increased content on contemporary Aboriginality and non-White immigration in chapters on post-1945 Australia which, notwithstanding their limitations, implicitly construct Australia as racially and culturally diverse. Moreover, on occasion texts published in the 2000s tentatively attempt to explicitly broaden the concept of Australianness by framing Aborigines and non-White immigrants as Australian. While commendable, occasional exceptions such as these do not overpower predominant constructions of otherness.

The contradictory positioning of non-Whites within texts demonstrates the constraints of White ignorance. Regardless of intent, changes to the visibility and substantive nature of both whiteness and otherness, as summarised above, reproduce both White normativity and non-White otherness. The visibility of both whiteness and otherness is reduced, while the substantive nature of each is ultimately unchanged although being constituted less explicitly. The reduced visibility generated by epistemologies of ignorance shelters these constructions from critique, thereby maintaining the status quo.

Ignorance as absence

In comparison to later texts, there is a dearth of information about non-Whites in the earliest texts in my sample. Consequently, these texts reproduce White ignorance in the form of absence. This form of White ignorance is remedied somewhat over the period of my research sample. From the 1970s, texts incorporate more information about non-Whites. While non-White immigrant perspectives remain absent, some of these texts incorporate Aboriginal experiences of White colonisation. Nevertheless, Aboriginal perspectives on other topics are absent. For example, some texts from the 2000s explicitly attempt to incorporate Aborigines in chapters on Australian identity. However, this is limited to tokenistic inclusions of Aboriginality appended to the story of White Australian identity; Aboriginal perceptions of Australian identity are absent. Moreover, the optional nature of this inclusion demonstrates the dominant position of Whites in comparison to Aborigines; inclusion is at White discretion. These examples provide further evidence of arguably genuine attempts at inclusivity hampered by White ignorance, which is therefore reproduced. Ignorance as absence is also reproduced by the continued absence of non-Whites (except as others to normative whiteness) and non-White perspectives from many core (White) historical topics, such as the Gold Rushes.

In contrast to the reduction or continuation of ignorance as absence discussed above, an absence of racialised terms for Whites is a new feature of later texts in my sample. Whereas texts from the 1950s and 1960s overtly declared White exceptionalism, over time whiteness disappears from view. As explained above, the unmarked status of whiteness is central to constructions of whiteness as normative. The current conceptual invisibility of whiteness evidences Mills' (1997, 72 emphasis in original) contention that White epistemologies of ignorance are '*continually being rewritten*' in response to wider societal change.

Ignorance as White solipsism

White solipsism refers to a tunnel-vision in which 'only white values, interests, and needs are considered important and worthy of attention' (Sullivan 2006, 17). By the cultivation of disregard for non-Whites as well as 'conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement', White solipsism is central to the reinscription of the relations of dominance and subordination characteristic of whiteness (Ansley 1997, 592). Many of the discourses discussed so far in this chapter evidence the persistence of White solipsism. For example, discourses of White benevolence re-centre Whites as the focus of the narrative, while discourses of White possession and White entitlement maintain constructions of White solipsism with its attendant disregard for non-Whites.

The distorted focus of White solipsism is implicated in the overall absence of information about non-Whites in the earliest texts in my sample discussed above. It is also implicated in the presence of misinformation about non-Whites. The fragments of information about non-Whites present in the earlier textbooks in my sample are (mis)informed by White solipsism; rather than self-representations by non-Whites, information about non-Whites reflects White ignorance. For example, in the case of Aborigines, this misinformation comprises explicit and implicit constructions of primitiveness, homogeneity and essential difference to Whites as well as specific 'facts' such as a lack of Aboriginal opposition to White colonisation.

In some ways, White solipsism is reduced over the time period of my sample. The absence of information regarding non-Whites exhibited in earlier texts is remedied from the 1970s onwards with the incorporation of dedicated segments about Aborigines and (non-White) immigrants. A reduction in White solipsism is also evident in the partial inclusion of non-White perspectives, which results in less misinformation being reproduced. Nevertheless, additional information about non-Whites tends to be restricted to topics about racialised others; in core (White) topics non-Whites remain absent. Hence, in these topics, White solipsism with its attendant ignorance of non-White perspectives is reproduced. Given the partial inclusion of material on non-Whites however, this solipsism is less obvious, aiding its normalisation. The persistence of discourses of White benevolence, White possession and White entitlement, discussed previously, suggests that, notwithstanding reductions in some forms of White solipsism, overall White solipsism persists.

Ignorance as White exceptionalism

The tunnel-vision of White solipsism distorts White perceptions, enabling accounts of White exceptionalism. There is a marked reduction of ignorance as White exceptionalism over the time period of my sample, with less effusive accounts of Whites and less derogatory accounts of non-Whites complemented by the omission of topics such as the White 'discovery' and 'exploration' of the continent. However, in many instances reductions in White exceptionalism are compensated by the inclusion of discourses of White benevolence, suggesting that White solipsism has changed its form rather than being reduced. Moreover, to reiterate, the substitution of less overt forms of White exceptionalism shields these discourses from critique, thereby revalorising whiteness and maintaining the status quo.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

In this thesis I have demonstrated how secondary school textbooks generate the normative dominance central to current manifestations of whiteness, in particular implicit ideas of White superiority, entitlement and possession and their obfuscation via epistemologies of ignorance. To the extent that textbooks are records of dominant narratives, my analysis provides empirical evidence of the technologies of power which produce and maintain these constructions in the Australian polity.

Despite genuine attempts to dispute White superiority and present more inclusive and complex narratives over time, whiteness remains normative within narratives of Australian history. Consequently, conceptions of exclusivity endure; visible non-whiteness continues to function as a barrier to Australianness, which remains synonymous with whiteness. Indeed, attempts at inclusivity which do not decentre White dominance actually hinder progress by insulating whiteness from examination and critique, thereby leaving oppressive structures intact so that the status quo is maintained. By being 'embodied in the normal as opposed to the superior' (Dyer 1997, 45), the power relations of whiteness and their associated privileges and disadvantage are obscured. Normativity reproduces the domination and subordination inherent to White superiority while appearing natural, thereby absolving Whites of any implication in the maintenance of systems of privilege and disadvantage (Castagno 2013, 102; Moore & Bell 2011; Steyn & Foster 2008; Sullivan 2006, 18-19). The epistemologies of ignorance inherent to contemporary whiteness play a crucial role in shielding this reality from critique, enabling Whites' privileged position at the centre of the nation as well as non-Whites' location at the periphery to be unmarked and uninterrogated.

The partial inclusion and relatively respectful treatment of various non-Whites and the reduction in overt discourses of White exceptionalism in the most recent textbooks in my sample are progressive moves which moderate the blatant distortions of earlier histories. Nevertheless, deliberate modifications such as these do not overpower dominant implicit constructions. Moreover, the extent of these reforms fluctuates according to White discretion. Similarly, the temporary status of some of the amendments in the Jacaranda texts in my sample, such as including and subsequently excluding Aborigines from narratives of national identity, reveals that Whites retain overall authorial control. While these decisions may demonstrate an

explicit agenda to produce more inclusive or exclusive histories, they also evidence the influence of enculturated perspective on historical writing.

Textbook producers represent events as they perceive them from their perspective. Perspective influences the choice of events and protagonists to include as well as how these events and personalities are arranged in a coherent narrative.

Consequently, multiple narratives are possible, rather than one 'correct' version of history (Henderson 2005). However, my analysis shows that, notwithstanding some minor amendments, traditional narratives of Australian history are maintained over the period of my research sample. The overall conformity of historical narratives evidences processes of enculturation. Educators' perspectives emerge from and reflect broader racialised structures (Vaught & Castagno 2008). The impact of these structures is apparent in their reproduction despite arguably genuine intent to challenge predominant conceptions. As Marcus (1999, 11) states in reference to Aboriginality,

... the intention of the author ... to present favourable or accurate images ... is not sufficient to undermine the powerful ways of knowing about history ... which carry the assumptions of everyday life.

Hence, constructions of White Australianness in contemporary narratives of Australian history are, to varying extents, driven by enculturation in whiteness with its attendant ignorance rather than overt White superiority. For those enculturated in whiteness, the discursive strategies which comprise technologies of power (re)produce the distortions, tunnel-vision and 'unknowing' of White solipsism without this replication necessarily being intentional. As Vass (2016, 372) explains, White dominance may be reproduced 'without the intention of domination and oppression necessarily being present in the minds of White social actors'. The persistence of these narratives evidences the continuation of whiteness despite significant change in the polity, such as the transition from White Australia to multiculturalism. As argued by Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, 393), whiteness is 'situationally specific', adapting to social and political change. In this way, whiteness can be seen as constituting a Gordian knot in which enculturation in White ignorance reproduces this ignorance. However, severing this Gordian knot by naming and challenging whiteness renders addressing racial inequality feasible.

Constructions of the nation as White exclude both Aborigines and those of non-White immigrant heritage (Elder, Ellis & Pratt 2004, 201; Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004, 32). In this context, I am referring to dominant constructions of Australianness rather than individual or group acceptance or resistance to this positioning. In particular, I acknowledge that these constructions are independent of non-Whites' legal status and self-understandings (Hage 1998, 19; Vass 2016, 372). The constructions of categories of belonging and exclusion have a marked impact on the life chances of members of those groups (Hollinsworth 2016; Moreton-Robinson 1998, 11; Walter 2010, 47). For example, constructions of White Australianness enable Whites to continue to assert strident and exclusive claims of ownership and entitlement (Ang 1999, 189). While structures of whiteness remain unchallenged, racial inequality in Australia will be maintained by the privileging of Whites relative to non-Whites even as they/we endeavour to be 'good anti-racists' (Riggs & Augoustinos 2005, 464). Moreover, as products of their broad socio-cultural context (Vaught & Castagno 2008), texts are likely to reinscribe the technologies of power which maintain yet obscure White dominance, rather than disrupting this positioning (Solomon *et al.* 2005, 45).

My research supports the findings of scholars in the field who argue against 'a neat ameliorist line' (Bradford 2001, 5) regarding progress in which more enlightened attitudes to race predominate over time. For example, in reference to the United States, Hughes (2007, 203) concludes that rather than a rosy picture of linear progression, race relations are 'a messy and continual struggle over power that encompasses both progress and ... significant steps backward in terms of racial justice'. My research findings suggest that even this 'two-steps-forward, one-step-back' concept is optimistic. Instead, I argue that the truism 'the more things change, the more they stay the same' is a more accurate description of the unrelenting nature of racial power relations in Australia despite apparent improvement.

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